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Marriage, Household Cycles, and the Maintenance of Equality Among the Tamang of North Central Nepal

Introduction

Thomas E. Fricke

Classless societies have a special place in the anthropological imagination. Whether the result of inherent sympathy for tribal societies falling victim to colonial expansion or an attempt to grapple with the effects of empire back home, anthropological writing has been concerned with the nature of egalitarian social formations. The issue is not momentary existence of hierarchies or differentials in wealth and power during the given year of fieldwork. Rather, it has to do with the maintenance and reproduction of an egalitarian ethic in populations where sex, age, household wealth, and a number of other characteristics can create differentials in power and status. How is it that some differences remain temporary? What processes sweep aside potential status markers and prevent "the hardening of firm and enduring social strata" (McGuire and Netting 1982: 281)? What timescale and which cycles must we isolate to examine these issues?

A complete answer would include a consideration of the ideological and structural options made available to individuals in a given society. We would, for example, want to know why actors fail to exploit opportunities to strengthen the differentials that must be the inevitable side-effects of random processes in small-scale social formations. This paper stops short of such a complete analysis. Without assuming causal priority I opt instead to detail features of social organization and social process that help to maintain an environment in which egalitarian social relations can flourish.

To the extent that agrarian and peasant societies can be considered egalitarian, we are justified in taking family and household as the key arena for such processes. Shanin, for example, refers to the household as "the basic unit of production, consumption, property holding, socialization, sociability, moral support and mutual economic help" (1971: 205) and these characteristics find their way into a number of subsequent definitions of the domestic unit (Macfarlane 1978: 105-106; Netting, et al. 1984: xxii; Netting 1981: 220). Such definitions have encouraged much important analysis at the household level and demonstrated important relationships among household structure, economy, and demography. Examples include Foster's illustration of the connection between population processes and the domestic developmental cycle (1978); there is also Cain's (1978) work documenting the link between household cycles and economic mobility.

This attention to household processes is a necessary part of our understanding although it cannot be the whole story. The problem is that households (or similarly circumscribed units such as domestic groups) are the units of organization beyond individuals where social differentiation is most keenly felt. The very flexibility with which these units can respond to their environments provides material grounds for their variable fortunes (Sahlins 1972: 74; Netting 1981: 220). The reproduction of differentials arising from such random and strategic variations has been implicated as an important cause of incipient class formation in egalitarian settings (Hitchcock 1980: 104-105; Macfarlane 1976: 199; Fricke 1986: 200). Models based entirely on household processes, such as the developmental cycle, would give a great deal of weight to the demographic lottery. Those households able to produce the greatest number of laborers, preferably sons, for themselves should be the most successful (Gain 1978). One could imagine the advantage accrued in a single developmental sequence being passed on to succeeding households and generating the less permeable barriers of a class system.

One of the paradoxes of these egalitarian societies is the extent to which their members recognize "natural" hierarchies. Thus, there are "natural" differentials in the obligations flows of parents and their children. There are "natural" implications of hierarchy in the direction that daughters or sons travel in marriage. These hierarchies are implicated in the strategies that individuals employ at strategic life course transitions--both their own and those of the people whose choices they control.

This paper examines the maintenance of equality among an agro-pastoral people of North Central Nepal. It does so by first showing how household processes are a function of demographic processes and culturally structured behaviour. The possibilities for ramifying differentials across generations are then examined, by showing how marriage timing is itself a strategic decision with consequences for women's fertility and their household developmental cycles. Finally, the larger context of these decisions is looked at through some patriline histories and the pattern of marriages and household development these engendered.

The Tamang and the Study Population

The Tamang are a Tibeto-Burmese language population concentrated in the central districts of Nepal and around the Kathmandu Valley. They are generally divided into Western, Central, and Eastern groups based on differences in dialect. All Tamang practice some variant of Nyingmapa Buddhism together with an indigenous shaman tradition (see, for example, Hoefer 1981; Holmberg 1983, 1984). They live in nucleated villages at from about 3,500 to 9,000 feet above sea level, pursue variations of a basic agro-pastoral economy, and are organized into patrilineal exogamous clans.

Marriage preferences appear to be uniform across the Tamang territory although actual behaviour differs from village to village. Thus, while there is a marked preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage, the actual percentages of marriages contracted with cross-cousins can be quite different. In one western Tamang village of 340 people studied by Kathryn March, cross-cousin marriages are reported to be 36% of the total sample of 86 marriages (1979: 209); in the western Tamang village I studied, cross-cousin marriages were 50% of the total.¹ Similarly, villages typically have high rates of endogamy but this varies with the number of resident clans and the number of households. Thus, I interpret March (1979: 181) to report that 60% of the marriages in one western Tamang village were contracted with patrilineal from outside; my own work in a more northern part of this region in a village twice the size showed that over 80% of the marriages were village endogamous.

The data for this analysis come from the western Tamang village of Timling, located some 50 miles northwest of Kathmandu and near the China-Nepal border. Timling rests on a narrow shelf of the Ganesh Himal massif at about 7,000 feet. It's population of 639 people² live in 132 households and exploit an environment ranging from 5,000 feet above sea level to the high pastures at about 15,000 feet.³

Timling's is a natural fertility population; there are no conscious efforts on the part of its members to limit their births with respect to parity. Nevertheless, the total fertility rate here is surprisingly low at 5.43 births per woman. Earlier analysis (Fricke 1985, 1986) uses Bongaarts' model for measuring the proximate determinants of fertility. The major behavioural factors lowering potential fertility in this population are the pattern of breastfeeding on demand with late weaning and the reduced exposure to the risks of pregnancy because of relatively late ages at marriage. At the same time, mortality is relatively high in this population with about 20% of new births not surviving beyond the first year and about 27% dying before age 5. The age structure of the population and the mortality and fertility patterns computed from retrospective birth histories of all ever-married or pregnant women are consistent with an intrinsic rate of natural increase of about 1.2%, that is, a doubling time of roughly 60 years (Fricke 1986).

The underlying household developmental sequence in Timling is a product of the basic demographic processes of fertility and mortality and the social facts of marriage timing, residence, and the timing of inheritance and household fission (Fricke 1986: 147-156). Thus although the Tamang of Timling are distributed across household types with 67% nuclear households, 29% stem and extended, and 4% alternatively structured, the average sequence in the village is that of a serial stem family. Such a system results from older married siblings leaving the household at the marriage of younger siblings (cf. Foster 1975). The average household exists in a nuclear phase

for its first 22 years but spends the remaining 15 years in a stem phase consisting of the married parents and successive sons who marry and leave the household shortly after the marriage of the next son.

As Collier and Rosaldo have written for non-class societies in general (1981: 278), kinship and marriage are critical institutions for the organization of cooperative relations in Timling. The timing of marriage and cohabitation is, for example, intimately connected to the household developmental cycle. From the point of view of household fission, a woman's entry into a husband's natal home as daughter-in-law is the initial step in a process that proceeds through the birth of a child, the marriage of a younger male sibling, and the formation of a new household. In a natural fertility setting such as Timling's, marriage is further related to a woman's age at first birth as well as to her final fertility. Finally, household labour and the relative position of a household in networks of cooperation are both functions of the number of children born and the developmental trajectory.

Although the household is the central organizational unit beyond the individual, its bounds do not exhaust the possibilities for co-operation and work. Sahlins (1972) has persuasively argued the need for domestic units to be organized beyond their own level in any society and Timling is not without mechanisms for forming supra-household links (cf. Foster 1984 for a Thai example). These links can be formed both lineally and through affines among the Tamang (March 1983; Toffin 1986). Progressively more inclusive lineal organization among the Tamang moves from the individual, through the household, cooperative labour group or micro-lineage, patriline, and clan. The absolute limits of cooperation based on common descent can occur at the patriline level which is seldom more than seven generations deep. It is much more likely, however, to include the set of neighbouring households in the micro-lineage which rarely have a lineal depth of more than three generations. These are likely to include the households of a grandfather, his independent sons, and their independent sons.

Marriage provides the second very important method of creating cooperative relationships in Tamang society. March has elaborated on the cultural representations of men and women relevant to their modes of fashioning links (1983). It is important to realize here that marriage has the central role of creating alliances and generating cycles of obligation and reciprocity among patriline. This point will be elaborated in the next section.

The processes by which supra-household links are formed define the contours of obligation flows throughout an individual's lifetime. The average sequence of a household from its earliest independence until the death of its founding members is from a position in which the overall flow of obligations is outward to one in which it is the

centre of its own web of obligation flows. This change in relative position results from the death of members of senior generations to whom services and labour are owed. A man will continually be called upon to aid his father, for example, even after taking his inheritance. Similarly, he will owe labour service to his wife's family throughout the lifetime of her parents. As those to whom labour is owed age and die, a person acquires the obligations of others as the natural consequence of having children who themselves marry and move to new households.

Given the importance of marriage in a range of critical social arenas, it is not surprising to find it the scene of strategies for relating the household and family to wider segments of the community. The ideal Tamang marriage is that of sister exchange, the *sine qua non* of reciprocity and non-hierarchical marriage exchange (Fox 1967). Tamang marriages involve brideprice and, in Timling, bride service to the woman's patriline. Marriages contracted as sister exchange have the affect of cancelling out any implicit hierarchy and the indebtedness that comes of acquiring a wife (all of this is from the point of view of the male). In practice, these exchanges within the same generation seldom occur. Thus, the Tamang system can be classified as a bilateral crosscousin system in which reciprocal relations between two patrilines are actualized in the exchange of daughters in repeating generations. The people of Timling express no preference for either the MBD or the FZD in these exchanges.

Strategy and Variation in Tamang Marriages

In spite of their bilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences, the Tamang permit a variety of possible spouses for their children. Other variations in the possibilities for marriage can occur along the dimensions of endogamy and the autonomy of spouse selection itself. Table 1 presents the distribution of 107 cases for these variables.

Information for the natal homes of married women in Timling demonstrates the high level of endogamy in this setting. In fact, we would be justified in taking the level to be higher than those 75% of marriages in which both spouses come from the village since both Lapdung and Lingjyo are daughter settlements with recognized origins from Timling patrilines. For this analysis, however, I have chosen to consider Lapdung and Timling as a single village since the household plots of these two settlements are in the same areas and there is ample opportunity for people to meet on a daily basis in the course of work. Other villages are from a few hours to 3 days walk away and can be considered truly exogamous. Alliances contracted with these families through marriage can win the use of winter pasture rights for Timling patrilines (a reason explicitly given for marriages between Timling and Kimtang, a village about 3 days south).

Table 1: Distribution of Cases for Selected Variables

Value	N	%
A. Natal Home of Married Women in Timling		
Timling	80	74.8%
Lapdung	11	10.3%
Lingjyo	3	2.8%
Sertang	7	6.5%
Others	6	5.6%
B. Landed Status of Marital Household		
Less than 22 Ropani	47	43.9%
At least 22 Ropani	60	56.1%
C. Parental Involvement in Marriage		
Arranged	38	35.5%
Choice	69	64.5%
D. Relationship between Spouses before Marriage		
Not Related	54	50.5%
MBD-FZS	38	35.5%
FZD-MBS	15	14.0%

Marital decisions can be made by a daughter's parents or be entered into independently. Although arranged marriages are the most obviously associated with the strategic ends of senior household members, independent marriages are similarly the result of strategic decisions-- deciding not to decide. Arranged marriages are not an all or nothing proposition. Sisters can have different levels of participation in their spouse choice, with some marriages arranged by parents and others left up to the future spouses themselves. Of the 107 first marriages considered here, 36% are arranged.⁵ All marriages, choice or arranged, create important links between households.

Finally, spouses may be variously related prior to marriage. Since sister exchange is seldom practiced in Timling, MBD-FZS marriages are distinct from FZD-MBS marriages. The third possibility of uniting previously unrelated couples accounts for 50% of all marriages in Timling. The different percentages of marriages contracted with the different sets of cross-cousins is the first clear evidence that some marriages are more desirable than others. Because wife-givers have more status than wife-takers, the greater

number of MBD-FZS unions suggests that marriages are consciously used to affirm status distinctions among patriline. Repeated MBD-FZS marriages across generations implies a continuing status distinction between patriline. An alternating exchange cycle would maintain overall status equality between patriline.

The facts of Tamang marriage suggest a number of strategic possibilities and raise important questions about the reproduction of egalitarian relations in Timling. In spite of extremely equitable wealth distribution in the village⁶ differential landholdings exist as shown in table 2. Bourdieu (1977) suggests that the political use of marriages will play itself out in ways that include the identity of people connected by marriage and the timing of links created by marriage. We would expect, then, that wealthier households would be more able to enter into marriage arrangements of their choosing, that they would be more likely to use repeated MBD-FZD marriages to ratify their superior position across generations, and that they would control the timing of marriages to maintain their position relative to other households. In this natural fertility setting, variation in the timing of marriage and cohabitation is expected to have a direct relationship to the timing of first births with consequences for the subsequent household developmental cycle and for longer cycles of land partition.

Table 2: Relationship between Land Value and Parental Involvement in Marriage

Landholding of Marital Households (Percentage Distribution)

Parental Involvement	< 22 Ropani	> =22 Ropani	Total
Arranged	25.5	43.3	35.5
Choice	74.5	56.7	64.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	47	60	107

Chi-square=3.65

Significance=.056

Specifically, this paper examines the relationship between household wealth and marriage strategies with the expectation that wealthier households will:

- a) be more likely to arrange the marriages of their children;
- b) be more likely to arrange village exogamous unions to participate in regional networks;
- c) be more likely to arrange MBD-FZS marriages to maintain their comparative advantage in status.

To the extent that marriage timing has a strategic function, the following relationships are expected:

- d) arranged marriages are expected to be at younger ages than those made by choice, since they must be made by parents before a daughter decides on her own spouse;
- e) MBD-FZS marriages are expected to be the youngest, because they reflect a wealthier household's desire and ability to acquire obligations through giving daughters; conversely, FZD-MBS son marriages should be the latest because they reflect the reciprocity and essential equality of exchange--although wealthier households must be compelled by a variety of social sanctions to eventually accept the exchange, they will attempt to delay its timing as long as possible by marrying off their daughters and reaping the benefits of labour and goods prior to accepting daughters-in-law and owing obligations.

Marriage Strategies in Timling: Empirical Evidence

Tables 2 through 4 present cross-tabulations for the relationship between household wealth and marriage process. The measure for wealth is the necessarily rough indicator of land area per household since no other measure exists for all of Timling. One ropani equals about .13 acres. The division presented here characterizes households by whether landholdings amounted to less than 2.86 acres or not at the time of fieldwork. This is a figure close to the average holding of 3.16 acres (Fricke 1986: 68). None of Timling's households are completely landless and this is a matter of some pride to the Tamang who live there.

Apart from the crudeness of our wealth measure, a second issue has to do with using a contemporary measure of wealth (land holdings at the time of fieldwork) to partially explain past behaviour (marriage strategies). This is especially problematic when the marriage strategies being correlated with marital household wealth occurred years before. It is possible, for example, that a household's landholdings have changed greatly in the time since marriages were being contracted. In the end, all of the results of statistical analyses that use the land variable must be accepted with caution. To test for the possibility that dramatic increases in land are a function of life cycle I performed a chi-square test of land category by women's cohort.⁷ If household land tended to increase with the age of a household we would expect a positive relationship between amount of land and a woman's age. No such relationship exists for this data.

With these cautions in mind, the cross-tabulations presented in the tables suggest that some elements of the marriage process are carried out differently in wealthier and poorer households. Table 2 suggests that wealthier households are more likely to be involved in the choice of incoming wives than less endowed households. The small number of cases available for analysis together with the fact that

this represents the whole population of women who continued in the first marriage long enough to have a child leads me to allow significance at the 0.10 level as acceptable. It is also worth noting that even with the positive relationship between wealth and the propensity to arrange marriages, neither of the landed groups arranged a majority of marriages.

Table 3 takes the analysis a little further and shows that those households most likely to have daughters-in-law from outside of Timling or Lapdung are those with greater amounts of land. The relationship is, however, weak even though it might make sense to interpret it in terms of a greater need for regional networks. In the cases here, a number of these village exogamous marriages were explicitly contracted for political and economic links with patriline in other parts of the Ankhu Khola watershed.

Table 3: Relationship between Land Value and Exogamous Marriage

Landholding of Marital Households (Percentage Distributions)			
Wife's Natal Village	< 22 Ropani	> =22 Ropani	Total
Timling-Lapdung	91.5	80.0	85.0
Others	8.5	20.0	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	47	60	107

Chi-square=2.74

Significance=.098

Table 4 shows the most robust relationship to be that between wealth and the tendency to arrange marriages with cross-cousins. In an analysis not shown here, land status was cross-tabulated with relationship between spouses for the whole population without a significant correlation. This table presents results only for arranged marriages since it is logical to expect "choice" marriages to be far more random. Arranged marriages must far more directly reflect the strategic interests of a household's senior members. We can interpret this table as reflecting the desire of wealthier households for maintaining affinal networks, and hence alliances, across generations. Another cross-tabulation intended to look at the tendency for wealthier households to unite particular kinds of cross-cousins (MBD-FZS vs. FZD-MBS) did not show a significant relationship.

These simple cross-tabulations, then, give us a picture of wealthier households relative to those with less land. The evidence supports our expectations that Timling's wealthier groups use marriage as a conscious strategy for securing alliances with particular households (as shown by their greater likelihood to arrange marriages at

all). These households are also much more likely to use marriages as a way to reaffirm already existing links among patriline.

Table 4: Relationship between Land Value and Marriage to Relatives (For Arranged Marriages Only)

Landholding of Marital Households (Percentage Distributions)			
Relationship	<22 Ropani	>=22 Ropani	Total
Not Related	83.3	46.2	57.9
Related	16.7	53.8	42.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	12	26	38

Chi-square=4.66

Significance=.031

Do these strategic differentials translate into variation in ages at marriage, cohabitation, and first birth? Earlier analysis suggests that arranged marriages result in younger ages at marriage and cohabitation for Tamang women (Fricke 1986:137-39). If marriage age is closely associated with ages at first birth, as they are in natural fertility societies such as Timling's, we might expect wealthier households to have larger families on the average with consequences for their household developmental cycles and processes of land fragmentation.

Tables 5 and 6 examine mean ages at the events of marriage, cohabitation, and first birth along the dimensions we have been examining. The overall mean age at marriage for these Tamang women is 20.5. There is an average period of about 4 months between marriage and permanent cohabitation, followed by an average of about 2 years and four months before a women's first birth. These are already late averages compared to other groups, including other Tamang groups, in Nepal (cf. NFS 1976; Acharya and Bennett 1981).

The most dramatic differences in age at marriage occur between exogamous and endogamous marriages, arranged and choice marriages, and FZD-MBS vs. other types of relationship between spouses. The differences in age at which a woman marries are respectively 3, 2, and about 1.5 years, easily differences that could result in an additional child in a woman's completed fertility. These gaps begin to narrow, however, when we consider age at cohabitation--while marriage age represents the formalization of relations and the maintenance of cooperative alliances between households, it does not necessarily result in immediate cohabitation of spouses. Arranged marriages are especially likely to incorporate lengthy gaps before

Table 5: Women's Ages at Marriage, Cohabitation, and First Birth by Marriage Strategy Variables

Variable	N	Age at Marriage	Age at Cohabitation	Age at First Birth
<u>A. Land</u>				
<22 Ropani	47	20.6	20.8	23.4
>=22 Ropani	60	20.3	20.9	22.9
<u>B. Village Endogamy</u>				
Timling-Lapdung	91	20.0	20.4	22.7
Other	16	23.1	23.2	25.1
<u>C. Parental Involvement</u>				
Arranged	38	19.2	20.0	22.3
Choice	69	21.2	21.3	23.6
<u>D. Relationship Between Spouses</u>				
Not Related	54	20.5	20.9	23.0
MBD-FZS	38	20.0	20.2	23.0
FZD-MBS	15	21.7	22.0	23.8
Grand Mean		20.5	20.8	23.1
Total Cases	107			

cohabitation. Differences narrow to 2.8 and 1.3 years for the first variables and remain about the same for FZD-MBS vs. other relationships. Finally, ages at first birth are different in the same way with the magnitudes of these gaps at 2.4, 1.3, and 0.8 years. In all cases, the difference in the timing of first birth is the same or slightly reduced from earlier differences in cohabitation age.

The differences in ages at these events for the two landed groups are even smaller with most events occurring at slightly younger ages for the better endowed households. For marriage, the better landed households tend to contract the alliance at an earlier age, but cohabitation ages between the two groups hardly differ. Age at first birth, on the other hand differs in the direction of half a year earlier for the more landed group.

The marriage variables most deeply implicated in larger contexts of patriline relations have to do with the degree of relationship between spouses before marriage. Village endogamy is so dominant that exogamous marriages affect very few households and are largely insignificant in the day to day affairs of the village. Table 6

Table 6: Women's Ages at Marriage, Cohabitation, and First Birth by Relationship to Spouse by Parental Involvement and Land

Variable	N	Age at Marriage	Age at Cohabitation	Age at First Birth
A. Relationship by Parental Involvement				
Not Related	54	20.5	20.9	23.0
Arranged	22	19.4	20.5	22.3
Choice	32	21.3	21.3	23.5
MBD-FZS	38	20.0	20.2	23.0
Arranged	10	17.4	18.1	21.8
Choice	28	20.9	20.9	23.4
FZD-MBS	15	21.7	22.0	23.8
Arranged	6	21.2	21.5	23.0
Choice	9	22.1	22.3	24.3
B. Relationship by Landed Status of Marital Household				
Not Related	54	20.5	20.9	23.0
< 22 Ropani	26	20.8	21.0	23.3
> =22 Ropani	28	20.2	20.9	22.7
MBD-FZS	38	20.0	20.2	23.0
< 22 Ropani	16	20.1	20.1	23.3
> =22 Ropani	22	20.0	20.2	22.7
FZD-MBS	15	21.7	22.0	23.8
< 22 Ropani	5	21.2	21.6	24.2
> =22 Ropani	10	22.0	22.2	23.6

provides a more fine-grained look at the timing of these events. Again, we can see that arranged marriages, regardless of the degree of relationship between spouses are younger than choice marriages in the same category. This has been explained as a result of the need to make arrangements before children decide the issue for themselves.

An interesting pattern emerges from this table, however, when we look only at arranged marriages and compare the ages of women for these events across categories of relationship. MBD-FZS marriages are the earliest for women at 17.4 years while arranged marriages to nonrelatives are 2 years later, followed by the FZD-MBS marriages 3.8 years later than marriages to the other set of cross-cousins.

The differentials continue to age at cohabitation with MBD-FZS spouses cohabiting when the women is 18.1 years old, followed by previously unrelated spouses 2.4 years later, and FZD-MBS spouses 3.4 years later. This finally translates into women's ages at first birth of 21.8 for the MBD-FZS spouses, followed a half year later by the unrelated spouses, and 1.2 years later by the other cross-cousins.

Reasons for the Patterns and Concluding Comments

Differentials in Marriage age are easily explained in terms of Tamang politics and the structural implications of marriage. Far younger ages at marriage for women related as MBD to their husbands must result from two features of Timling society. First, there is the special relationship between a brother and sister that translates into a special set of obligations between a mother's brother and her son. Women are themselves interested in procuring their brother's daughters for their sons and might be expected to attempt to do so before the potential daughter-in-law marries elsewhere. Households providing these daughters, on the other hand, would not be expected to decline the opportunity to reaffirm their implicitly superior position for another generation. There is no reason from their point of view to delay an alliance based on marriage.

FZD-MBS matches are later for the same sets of reasons that the others are early. There is no ritually buttressed connection between a man's sister and his son--she has no responsibility for his life cycle rituals such as first haircutting. Further, the only possibility for taking in a FZD is to provide the reciprocal exchange in a connection begun in an earlier MBD-FZS match. This exchange results in a reversal of implicit status and, even when the exchange is expected, there is no hurry on the part of wife-receivers. Hence the very late marriages.

Arranged marriages to previously unrelated households are desirable to the extent that they forge new alliances and cooperative links. They have the disadvantages from the point of view of wife-receivers of creating an implied hierarchy where none may have existed before but they hold out the promise of continuing exchange and reciprocity. It is interesting here that arranged marriages between unrelated spouses result in the longest periods between the formal marriage and actual permanent cohabitation. While the alliance is desirable for the household head, there is evidence here that daughters are not themselves as resigned to moving.

Marriage timing, with its implications for status and Tamang politics is clearly the event of greatest strategic interest and the greatest variance. Dummy regressions of age at marriage, age at cohabitation, and age at first birth on this range of variables related to marriage process resulted in R squares of .15, .11, and

.08 respectively with the only significant results being for age at marriage. This suggests that, while there are implications for age at first birth and for the consequent household developmental cycle, people are not pursuing their strategies with these results in mind. Thus, the household's possibilities with respect to its members are partly contingent on the natural fertility of resident women.

The indications here are that those families with more land take women into their households at slightly younger ages and that their first births occur slightly before the others--half a year. Unfortunately, the numbers of households with complete developmental histories is too small to pursue the ramifications for household developmental cycles here. We are assured, however, that this small difference in the timing of age at first birth would result in trivial differences in family size--at least for the few generations necessary to the smooth functioning of the marriage exchange cycle.

Finer grained analysis of particular patriline is necessary to complete the picture. While households clearly pursue strategies with some of their daughters, a large number of marriages (more than half) are left up to the more random processes of spouse's making their own decisions. These obviously have the affect of leveling some of the differences found in arranged marriages. Examinations currently in process show that a number of additional features of individuals must be considered for a fuller understanding of these processes. There is some possibility that marriage arrangements are related to the sib position of children, for example. Further, political maneuvering through marriage is not entirely related to the rough dichotomy of landed status used in this analysis. Households in the wealthier category arrange marriages with each other and with households from the poorer category. Again, the particular daughters singled out for these connections may be related to their sib positions.

Preliminary analysis of patriline data shows that even those wealthy groups that try to maintain dominance through a series of MBD-FZS marriages, eventually take a woman back in reciprocal exchange

It is not clear to what extent this reciprocal flow is related to the formerly wife-receiving patriline's rise in material status, couple with a decline in the other patriline through household fission and partible inheritance.

The answers to our questions here are that the key institution for relating to household strategies for alliance revolve around marriage. Egalitarian relationships in Timling appear to have much to do with the expectations of the Tamang themselves--a household or patriline refusing to eventually respond with a reciprocal marriage exchange would eventually find itself with negative sanctions at a

number of other levels. This need to respond, together with the quite different marital styles of different daughters helps to level the potential inequalities that could arise from marriage strategies.

NOTES

1. The total marriages included in the present analysis is 107. This includes all of the 150 ever-married or child-bearing women of Timling who had a child in their first marriage. I have made this selection criterion in order to carry the discussion through to effects on age at first birth.
2. The ethnographic present for this study is 1981. Timling is the name by which the village is known by its inhabitants. It is rendered differently on maps.
3. A more detailed description of this setting appears in Fricke (1986). The important point to make here is that Timling's village economy is mainly subsistence-oriented with relatively little market economy influences. The consequence is a high reliance on traditional cooperative links.
4. A term I borrow from Toffin (1986) and for which he reports the indigenous term *nangi bhai* (brothers of cooperation).
5. In the total population, 42% of the first marriages are arranged (Fricke 1986: 137). The smaller percentage here reflects the daughter's veto power over her parents' decisions about her lifecourse and the apparently higher likelihood of divorce in arranged marriages. Divorce has no negative implications for a woman's status although the possibility that a woman will leave her husband increases the risk of arranging marriages. While marriage can create and reaffirm alliances, divorce can break them.
6. A Gini coefficient calculated for the distribution of total wealth among 30 randomly chosen households was .22. This compares to .40 for a Gurung village noted for its egalitarian relations (Fricke 1986: 162-63; see also McGuire and Netting 1982 for other comparisons).
7. Women were divided into two cohorts: those born prior to 1943, and those born in 1943 or later. The land categories for marital households were allowed to remain the same as above.

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Community Penetration and Subjection of Labour to Merchant Capital in a Newar Town in West-Central Nepal

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Blaikie, Cameron, and Seddon's book, *Nepal in Crisis: Growth and Stagnation at the Periphery*,² represents the first major critical study in Nepal. Although it was initially banned by the Nepalese government and continues not to be considered acceptable reading, it has had great influence on the Nepalese intelligentsia. Many scholars accept the major conclusions, but now criticize the book because of an unconvincing attempt by the authors to fit a rather orthodox Marxist model to the Nepalese countryside. As a result of a two year study of the same area in the central hills of Nepal, we are able to show how their methodology was unable to provide data that could demonstrate the actual process at work. They also misunderstood the Marxist model, and thus improperly analyzed the data they did have from a theoretical standpoint.

Blaikie et al. drew from Lenin's work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*³ as a model to make an apparently radical study of the countryside in Nepal. But, failing to understand Lenin's point, they turned his entire argument upside down to fit a rather orthodox Marxist position, and, misrepresenting the actual conditions in Nepal, presented a reactionary appraisal of the Nepalese countryside. We found in our work a two hundred year history of penetration of industrial capitalist interests in the form of merchant capital working as an agent for industrial capital. Today, the direct producers (which they term "peasantry") have been expropriated of all lands except for small relatively unproductive plots which subsidize capitalist profits by bearing the reproductive cost of the accumulation of surplus labor for the capitalist interests. This impoverishes the laboring direct producers and the countryside. Blaikie et al., in contrast, interpreted the form taken by the penetration of capital in terms of a "semi-feudalism"⁴ where relations of dependence represent a deduction from capitalist profits, preventing a complete capitalist transformation. As a consequence, they warn of a downward spiral into a deepening crisis, represented in a looming ecological collapse and the end of Nepal's existence as a separate nation state.

While concurring in our research in the same west-central hill region that the direct producers, which Blaikie terms "peasantry,"

are in a relationship of dependence to the landed classes and that there is incomplete development of the commodity form, we found that labor in the west central hills is subordinated not just capital, but to industrial capital, as a result of a more than 200 year history of penetration of industrial textile and other capitalist interests in the form of commercial and money lender's capital.

Blaikie et al. modeled their study on Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* in order to identify whether capitalism had developed in the Nepalese countryside without fully accounting for the program that shaped Lenin's book or the particular historical conditions of their study area. Lenin reinterpreted Russian gubernatorial statistics that the rightest populists or Narodniks had used to prove that capitalist relations had not developed in the Russian commune at the turn of the 20th century. The rightest populists argued that because capitalism had not developed, the traditional communism of the commune could be used as the basis for the socialist transformation of the countryside.

Lenin, on the other hand, showed that if the gubernatorial statistics were broken down, rather than used to generalize the peasantry as a whole, they indicated differentiation within the peasantry and the development of a capitalist class from the peasantry. This class employed the rest of the peasantry as a proletariat, but subverted the commune to bear the cost of the reproduction of the peasantry and thus subsidize their profits. Because the peasantry bore the cost of their own reproduction as a proletariat, its exploitation was worse than if capitalism had fully developed. Lenin argued that preservation of the commune contributed to peasant exploitation by capitalism and did not represent a potential base for socialism. Only full development of capitalism and dissolution of the commune could provide the basis for socialism. Since he showed that capitalism had indeed developed, the next step in Lenin's program was revolution, not reform.

In order to identify the extent of capitalist penetration and proletarianization in the Nepalese countryside, Blaikie et al. collected statistical data from sample sites in the west-central hill region of Nepal to create a data base resembling the Gubernatorial statistics analyzed by Lenin. Blaikie et al., unlike Lenin, found that their statistics indicated that capitalism was undeveloped in Nepal. Like Lenin, they argued that capitalist development was necessary, not for communist revolution, but simply to save the country. Two important differences between Blaikie et al.'s and Lenin's situations prevented the former from identifying capitalist subjection of the countryside.

First, Blaikie et al. applied to the Nepalese data the categories developed by Lenin from the class relations particular to Russia at

the end of the 19th century. In Russia, class development had taken the form of differentiation of the peasantry into capitalist farmers and an agrarian proletariat yet still bound to the commune. In contrast, in the hills of Nepal, agrarian capitalists did not arise from the peasantry. Rather, merchants spread out east and west of the Kathmandu Valley throughout the middle hills and traded in cotton fabrics produced by newly arisen British industrial interests. In this way, they acted as the agents of industry by creating a market for it by simultaneously usurping the previously established landed interests and destroying the autonomous nature of production.

The growth of capitalism took not the form of differentiation of the peasantry, but the penetration of control by urban merchants in the interest of industrial capitalism. Blaikie et al., limiting their search for differentiation to a hypothesized peasantry, seem to have entirely over looked the merchants in their surveys. Thus, according to their categories, the richest capitalists and landholders earned 10 or 11,000 rupees per year. When compared to merchant households, with yearly incomes of millions of rupees, Blaikie's capitalist households are impoverished not just relatively but absolutely. In using a model that assumed that capitalism took the form of differentiation of the peasantry, they were unable to understand the actual form of capitalist penetration and class relations in the west-central hills. Such a study would have been more appropriately done in the east where immense holdings by entrenched landed property classes more closely fit their feudal model.

Second, once the merchants had taken control of the rent producing lands and labor in the hills, they moved out of the hills into new growing markets and fertile virgin lands of the Nepalese lowlands, which had been opened to settlers by the Nepalese government (under Juddha Shamsher Rana) after the 1934 earthquake. Because of the consequent spacial separation of large property owning merchants in the lowlands and small holder laborers in the hills, it would have been extremely difficult for sampling of random locations to show the relations of exploitation between areas if they had interviewed the merchants and impossible if they had not. Data from the hills showed small holdings and undeveloped capitalism. Data from the lowlands failed to link the large merchants to the hill property and labor relations. Even if they had interviewed merchants, it is doubtful that they could have correctly estimated the extent of the merchant holdings in the hills just from surveys, since the merchants are reticent about these.

In contrast to sampling, we chose as our focus the town of Bandipur, the central bazaar from which merchant domination began to spread from the 18th century. We documented the historical development, expansion of control, migration to the lowlands, and the manner of continued ties to the hills of every merchant household. Similarly,

we documented the development of all the various laboring castes within Bandipur, and we sampled surrounding villages to test generalizability of our findings to surrounding villages.

Today, most village producers hold small marginal less fertile unirrigated plots which provide only 3 to 9 months of the yearly rice consumed by their families. These plots are almost invariably mortgaged. To survive, the producers are forced to take loans to purchase the balance of rice and other market needs such as clothes, not to mention a ration of alcohol, cigarettes, and video entertainment, each with its own particular role in the exploitation process. These debts accumulate year to year, generation to generation, serving as a form of bondage forcing the laborers to work for merchants and other property holders at low wage rates and high rents in agricultural, mining, load carrying, or migrant labor. The low wage rates and high rents in turn presuppose the small marginal holdings to reproduce the work force and allow the employer to absorb more of the value of the labor as profit.

Blaikie et al.'s results are turned rightside up again. Development of a capitalist class from the peasantry is shown to be insignificant compared to the immense hegemony merchants established over the countryside in their role as traders of industrial produced goods. We find parallels not just with Lenin's findings, but with colonial plantations as well: small holdings alongside of large capitalistically owned estates which contribute to the reproduction of capital. Any persistence of feudalism in this part of the country is only in appearance.

While Lenin identified the development of capitalism as a basis and rational for revolution, Blaikie et al. despair over its lack of development for its own sake. Unlike the conservative populists who at least offered socialism as a apology for capitalism, they can only offer capitalism as the solution. Since the semi-feudalism they describe is the form taken by capitalism, it becomes its own apologist. Consequently, Blaikie et al., while taking a radical approach offer a conservative-even absurd-solution, that the ruling classes wake up to what their rule is doing to the country before it is too late. They advise that it dissolve the "semi-feudal" relations which provide its basis and develop capitalism. But foreign industrial capitalism in the form of mercantile capital, by destroying cottage industry, concentrating property and capital, and plunging the rural producers into debt, is the cause of dependence.

NOTES

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Council and the American Council of Learned Societies with Funds provided by the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities and in part by the United States Educational Foundation Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Research Abroad Program. It was also sponsored by the Departments of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin and Tribhuvan University. However, the conclusion, opinions, and other statements in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily either those of the Councils, the United States Educational Foundation, or the Departments of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin and Tribhuvan University.

2. Blaikie, Piers, John Cameron, and David Seddon, *Nepal in Crisis: Growth and Stagnation at the Periphery*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta.
3. Y.I. Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Progress Publishers, Moscow (1956).
4. One of the characteristics of the semi-feudal form of production is the control of 'permanent' labourers who are paid in kind rather than the employment of wage labourers hired at the busy agricultural season. Larger households frequently have permanent labourers, even if the whole farm and household do not generate enough work of various sorts to keep them occupied all the year, but also employ casual wage labour in the height of the agricultural season. In these cases the ratio of one type of employment to the other provides one distinguishing empirical criterion of 'semi-feudal' as opposed to 'capitalist' farmers. In the case where the ratio is in favour of permanent labourers, the employer pays to a greater extent the full costs of the reproduction of labour and generally takes responsibility for housing the labourer and perhaps his family. This method of labour use is more costly than hiring wage labour as and when it is required, especially when other particularistic commitments to permanent labour generally occur.... We suggest that the producer who is predominantly within the semi-feudal form will employ more permanent labour than wage labour. Arguably more importantly, however, he will sell less of his surpluses..., consume more of his produce..., will be less involved in businesses outside agriculture and, most important of all, will not be concerned with improving his productive base through the use of new inputs and mechanization...

"It is quite clear from rural survey data that the great majority of employers of agricultural labour do not minimize aggregate payments to labour nor do they deploy their surpluses in an aggressive and expansionist manner. While the ability to accumulate is limited to employers either with non-agricultural

income or with large farm sales, the surplus generated is not reflected in the purchases of land, buffaloes, oxen, bullock carts, and machinery....what investment exists in capital equipment as well as in new inputs is highly concentrated in a very few households, giving a strong positive skew to the distributions of these variables, and it is these households which may be said to exhibit capitalistic tendencies. The vast majority of such households are situated in the terai where in general the surpluses, cash flow, and investment in both agricultural and non-agricultural means of production are greater. However, mechanization has been slight, real labourers' wages have remained constant, and expansion of landholding by the class of capitalists at the expense of the 'semi-feudal' aristocracy or the poor peasants who thereby become subordinate to it as labourers has not yet occurred....Thus whilst the opportunity for the development of productive forces within capitalist relations exists, given the knowledge of a new technology and the availability of 'free' labour, we think it unlikely that the present tiny minority of capitalist farmers will expand rapidly and suggest that the dominant form of production in the West-Central Region will remain essentially 'peasant'. But the precise nature of the peasantry in the Region requires careful analysis for it is neither a homogeneous nor a 'traditional independent' peasantry. It is the specific product of a particular historical process involving partial incorporation of the Nepalese political economy as a whole into the world capitalist system" [Blaikie et al., opus cited, pp. 252-3].

5. Ibid.

Contributions to the History of Nepal: Eastern Newar Diaspora Settlements

*Todd Thornton Lewis
Daya Ratna Shakya*

Attention to a civilization's core and periphery and to the inner and boundary frontiers defining it's dominion, has fruitfully informed many historical studies across the world (Turner 1920; Lattimore 1962; Lamb 1968; Shils 1975; Tambiah 1977; Miller 1977). Examining such fundamental issues as: the limits of a civilization's growth, the nature of satellite societies at the far ends of an empire, the diffusion of cultural traits, and the networks that connect geographically-dispersed polities, etc. can illuminate a host of important issues germane to both synchronic and diachronic studies. Comprehending the dynamic forces shaping contemporary civilizations and understanding the geographical factors conditioning the historical trajectories of regions are the conceptual rewards for pursuing the logic of core-periphery analysis.

In the Himalayan region, the civilization with its ancient roots in the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal) has for at least 1500 years dominated a territory extending beyond its immediate culture hearth zone. An elevated malaria-free valley (4,500 ft.) roughly twenty miles in diameter, pre-modern Nepal was the most attractive and productive settlement in the region due to its fertile soil, reliable rains, pleasant climate, and trade location. Itself a frontier "satellite" which has absorbed many influences from India and, to a lesser extent, Tibet, the Valley always retained its political independence from these distant civilizations. Despite the rise and fall of local dynasties, the Himalayan mountains and lowland malaria insured its continuing autonomy.

In this article, we are concerned with the core and periphery in one regional case: the Kathmandu Valley is the culture hearth zone and diaspora settlements east and west are the foci of historical interaction. (However, we will also see that even in this regional investigation pursuit, we must not lose track of the larger Indo-Tibetan context.)¹ After introducing the phenomenon of the Newar diaspora (Quigley 1987) across Nepal, we present historical materials on two towns of the Arun region: Taksar (Bhojpur) and Chainpur. In future publications, we will present materials on other such settlements.

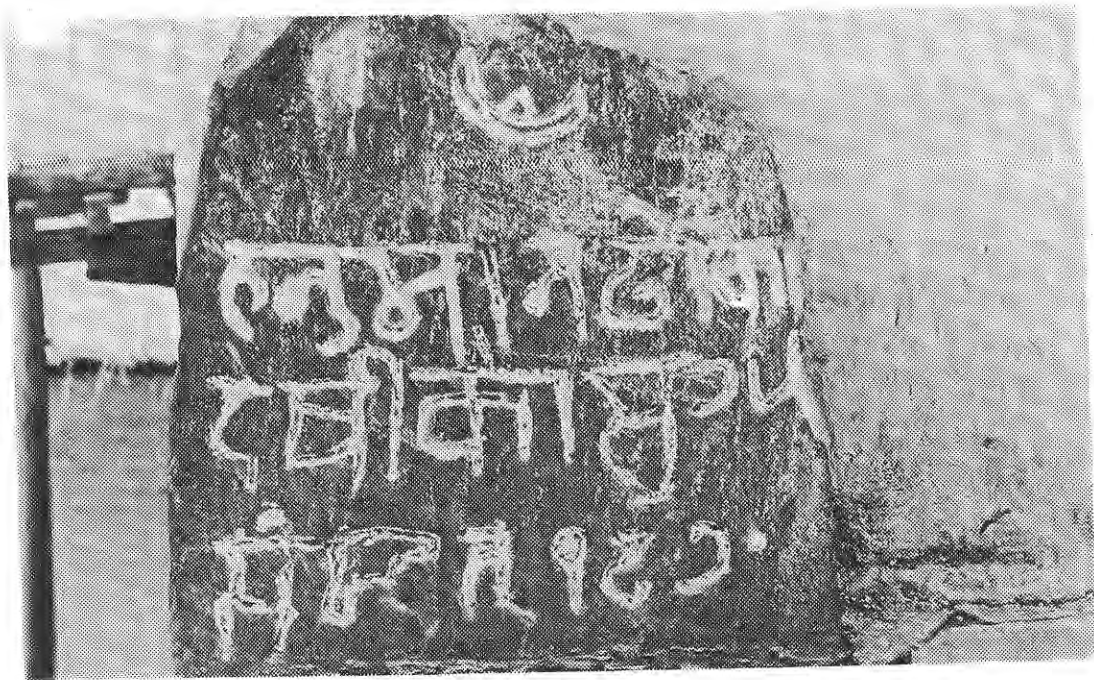
Historical Background

By the Licchavi era (400-800 A.D.), it is clear that a core civilization existed in the Kathmandu Valley that was Indicized to the extent of rulers making Sanskrit inscriptions to record local proclamations (Riccardi 1978; G. Vajracarya 1973; Slusser 1982). While we now have basic information about early Nepal's society and culture from these records, there are only scant references to the limits of Licchavi rule. This early civilization likely extended to the Banepa Valley immediately to the east and may have reached to Nuwakot (D. Bajracarya 1976). There were likely traders centered in the Valley who also established small settlements up and down the Indo-Tibetan trade routes -- several Licchavi inscriptions mention "caravan traders" -- but to date no records of these sites have been discovered. The evidence of pilgrimage routes through the region specified in Indic texts of this era (Bhardwaj 1973) also supports the notion that there were regular avenues of human passage across the Himalayas in the ancient period.

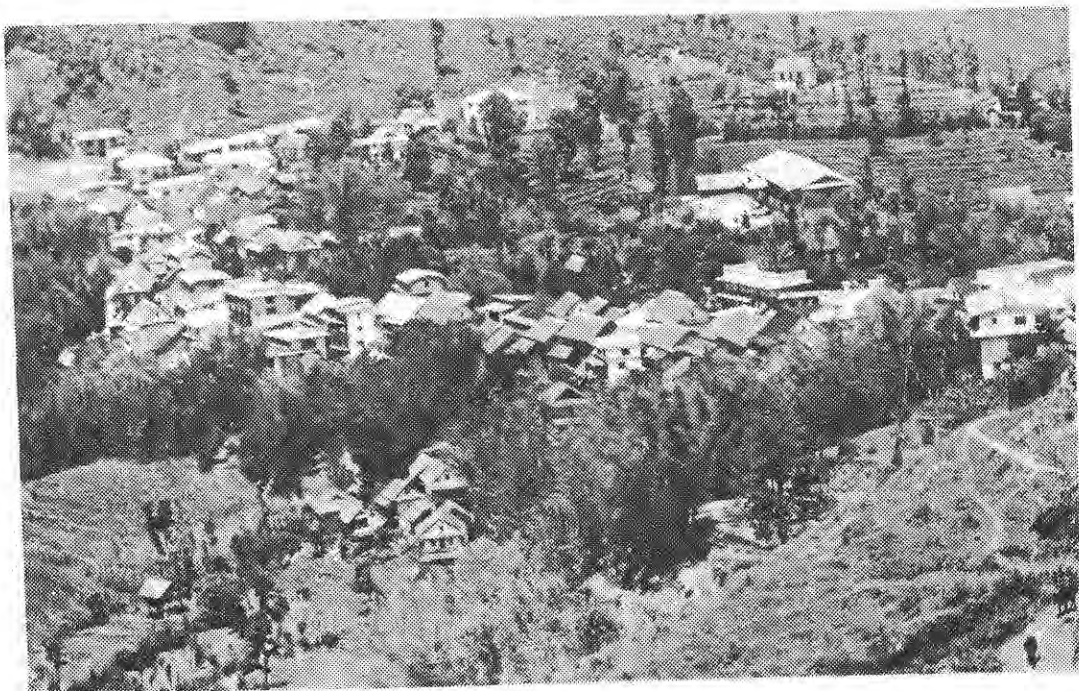


Shiva Sketch on a Tamra Patra, Taksar

In the early Malla period (1100-1480), evidence of new outlying Newar towns emerges for Dolakha (D. Bajracarya and Shrestha 1974) which may reflect an accompanying expansion due to gradual population increases (in the Valley and in the hills) and the concomitant expansion of regional trade. By this time across the Himalayan frontier, territory was carved up among hundreds of petty-states, with local ruling elites exercising control over agriculturalists and pastoralists through in-kind taxes, trade tolls, and military coercion. Major trade routes to Tibet via Humla, Mustang, Kiyong, Khasa, Wallangchung, and Kimathangka dominated north-south relations. Across the mid-hills, a dominant trade artery passed from Jumla



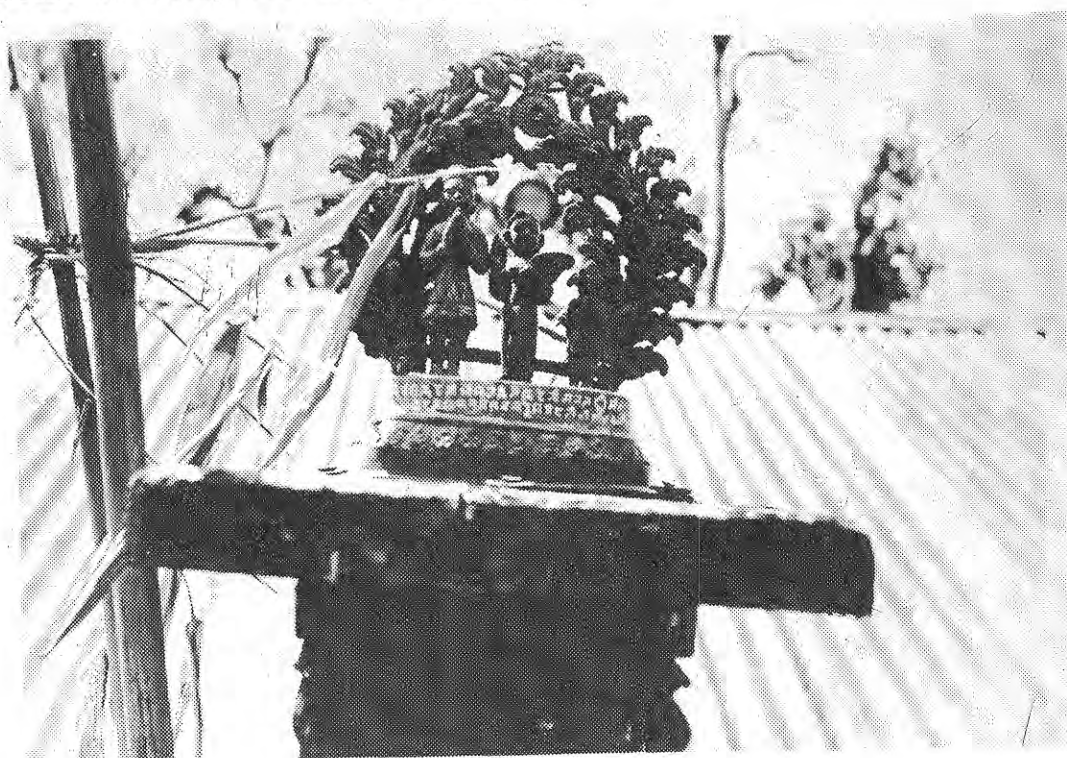
Hanumandhoka Inscription Chainpur



A view of Chainpur

to Pokhara, to Nuwakot, to Kathmandu; and from there to Dhulikhel, Dolakha, Bhojpur, Ilam, and Darjeeling.

As the Kathmandu Valley developed its metalwork, architectural, and artistic production, these trade networks linked the valley to the hinterland and to Tibet. There is as yet no evidence for pre-Shah Newar settlements outside these networks. By later Malla times, there is also evidence of Newar kings granting lands to Tibetan lamas who settled in the Helambu area (Clarke 1983). This may have been part of a more extensive policy of valley rulers gaining control of lands in the sparsely-populated adjacent frontier regions. Such efforts to create allied neighboring polities were likely made in the context of early military stirrings in Gorkha.



A Status installed of Siddhakali Temple

The eventual Shah conquest of the valley, and the ensuing unification of a large state, was a landmark event that altered the course of Himalayan history. Most of the former regional relationships shifted in response, setting in motion unprecedented changes. Stated in pragmatic terms, the Gorkha state eventually reigned supreme in the central Himalayas because its early leaders understood the hills very well and used their knowledge to consciously fashion an empire there (Riccardi 1977). Early Shah rule played on regional and ethnic alliances, consciously manipulated the development of trade, and was grounded in the ongoing, practical need to supply military garrisons.

It was natural that the conquering Shah rulers recruited individuals from the Kathmandu Valley to perform the tasks necessary for national integration. Newar society was known for its literate elite, successful businessmen, talented artists, and skilled agriculturalists. For the Newars in the valley, the Shah conquest presented opportunities for expanding their economic opportunities in each of these spheres.

Many Newars migrated across the new Nepali empire. Some left under contract with the state to supervise government mining, minting, weaving, and other types of production (English 1985). Merchants left to supply army garrisons situated across the country and to pursue trade opportunities along the administrative networks being created by the new state's organization. Some Newar aristocrats and soldiers also fled the new capital after the losing military struggle against conquest; still others fled due to some social disgrace, local dispute, or to abscond from economic obligations.

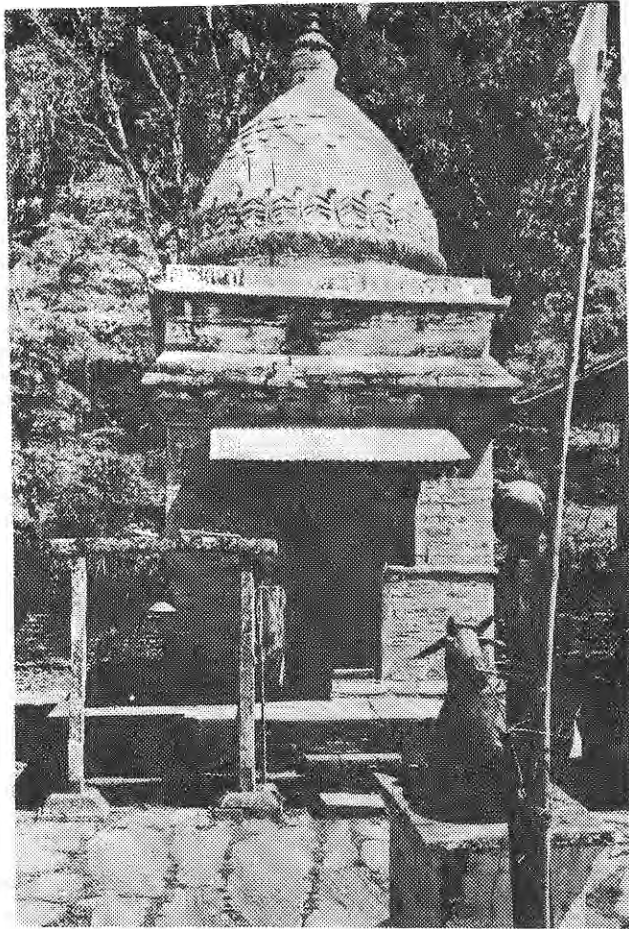


Siddhakali Bhagbati Shine

As new trade patterns emerged, alliances developed, and settlements grew, Newar migration continued, coalescing in major towns throughout mid-montane Nepal. Migration corridors among select core sub-communities channeled outward movement toward particular settlements. Allied with the state's extensions across the hills in all domains but soldiering, and aware of new state laws and procedures, Newars acquired lands and created new settlements that replicated their core societies from the Kathmandu Valley. For many, this migration was permanent and many contemporary descendants no longer retain relations with kin in the valley. Migration continues until the present. The 1981 census shows that roughly 40% of those who identify them-

selves as "Newar" live outside the Kathmandu Valley proper.² In Map 1, we chart the percentage of Newar living in the districts of Nepal according to the 1981 census:

MAP 1: Percentage of Newars according to Administrative Divisions:



Mahadeva Temple of Siddhakali

Bandipur, Bhojpur, and Dolakha where Newars predominate and diaspora settlements resembling Kathmandu Valley towns have been established.

A third type of town is one where Newars are commercially influential but in a numerical minority. This two-part circle can be divided by (i) those now on a motorable road -- Dharan, Dhankuta, Gorkha bazaar, Pancakhal, Butwal, Doti, Salyan -- and (ii) those that are merely on older trade routes -- Chautara, Dingla, Ilam, Karang, Khandbari, Arughat, and many others.

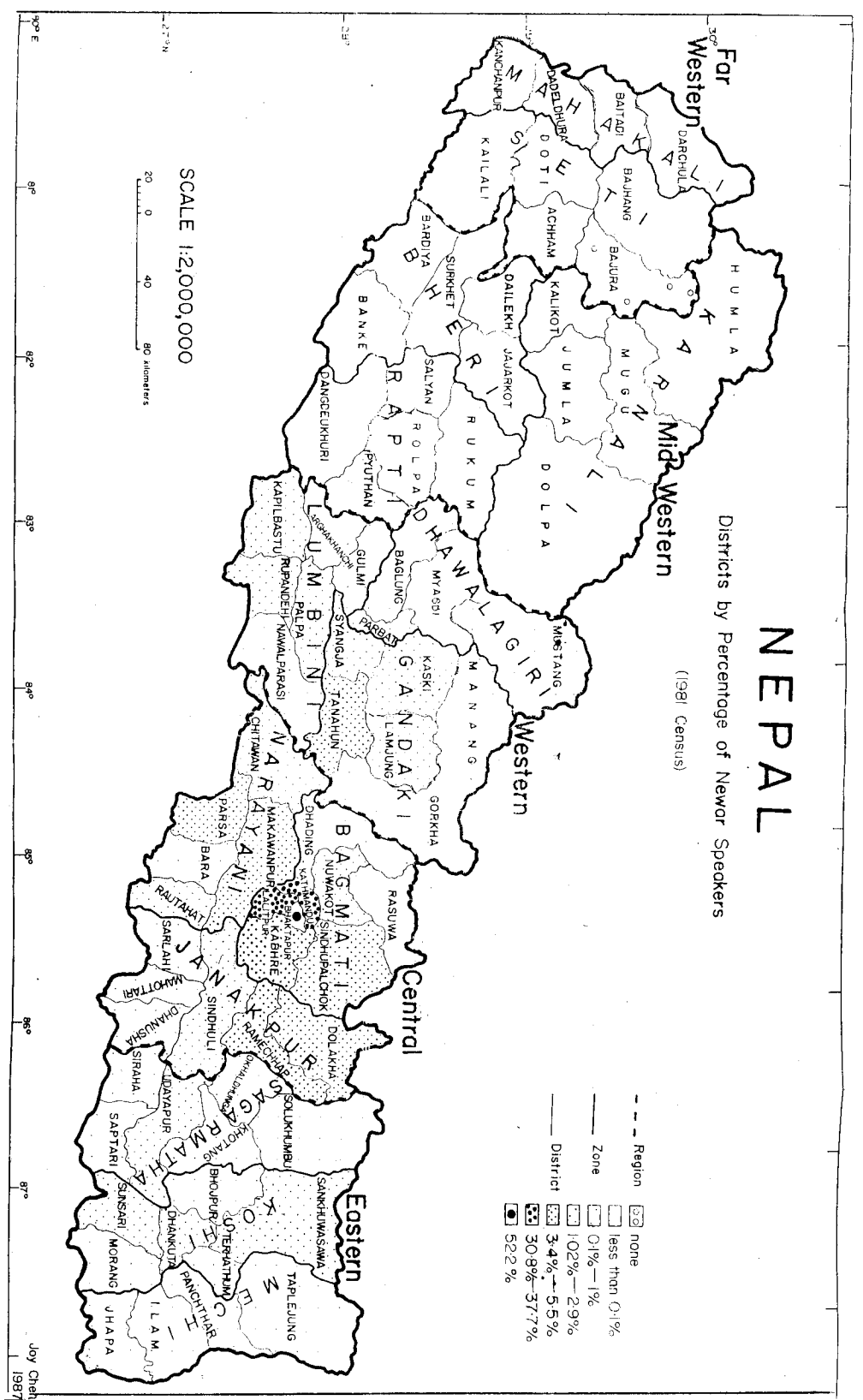
Finally, there are many settlements where small numbers of Newars are said to live across Nepal such as Jumla (Campbell 1978), Tabang (Molnar 1981), Lamjung (Messerschmidt 1976) in the west, and Majh Kirant (English 1985) and Limbuan (Caplan 1970) in the east.

Map 2 shows the location of the sites mentioned in the text which constitute the major Newar settlements in modern Nepal.

Modern Newar diaspora settlements vary greatly, each seemingly in its own unique geographical and historical niche. A crude overview schema, also drawing on Gellner's recent work (1986), points to four different ideal types:

First are the towns that closely ring the valley itself. In this category are the towns of the Banepa valley: Banepa, Nala, Panauti, Dhulikhel. Nuwakot to the northwest and towns of the Chittlang Valley, all formerly two days walk away, would fall in a subdivision of this circle, where Newari is still spoken and regular active connections (kinship, trade, cultural celebrations) endure with the core area.

In the second circle are larger towns along the older trade routes such as Palpa, Ridi, Wami-Taksar,



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MAP 2: Major Newar Settlements in Modern Nepal

Major Newar Settlements

region _____

zone _____

district _____

SCALE 1:2,000,000

Mode of Transport	Kilometers
by car	75
by train	45
by bus	25
on foot	10

1987

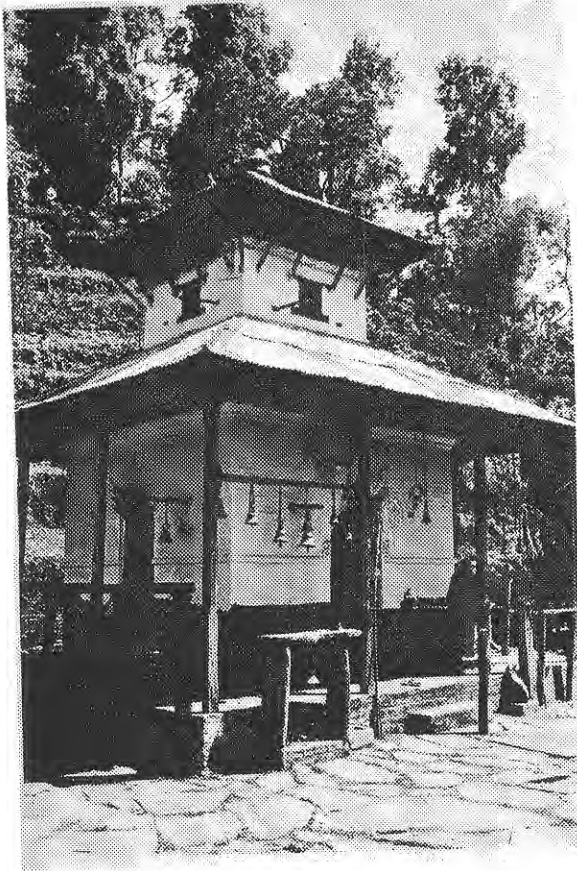
1987

Modern transport networks have altered the former degree of relatedness between the valley and the mid-hills periphery. The modern road network extending east and west of the valley has linked other towns -- formerly many days distant on foot -- to a mere day's journey from Kathmandu by public transport. These roads, of course, have been extremely influential in the modern socio-economic development of the hills. Almost invariably, these have also been sited distant from the old towns, thereby undermining them by causing merchants to relocate their businesses at the new roadhead bazaars. To summarize using geography terminology, modern roads have altered the *central place hierarchy* due to the declining friction of distance. This modern situation is represented by the following chart that arranges these towns by travel time from Kathmandu City:

Table 1: Central Place Hierarchy of Newar Towns by Core-Periphery Travel Time

<i>1 hour or less</i>
Road: Banepa, Panauti, Dhulikhel, Citalang
Air : Pokhara, Bhojpur
<i>Less than 6 hours</i>
Nuwakot, Narayanghat, Bhimphedi, Bandipur
<i>1 Day Travel</i>
Palpa, Ridi Bazar, Dolakha, (Chainpur), Butwal, Jiri Beni, Dharan, Gorkha, Dhankuta
<i>2 Days Travel</i>
Arughat, Baglung, Pyuthan

The modern development of these diaspora Newar settlements conformed to the logic of trade in each district. Merchants have adapted to the trade arteries that evolved by positioning themselves at centers suitable for dominating the economic relations of the rural hinterland. A "marketing community" (Skinner 1964) among Newar producers, middlemen, and rural consumers evolved across the middle hills. Across Nepal, Newars have been active in pursuing the business opportunities that have unfolded concomitant with economic modernization. On the micro-level, the pattern conforms to classical niche theory (Barth 1968), especially in the case of the minting, metal producing, intensive agriculture, trade sites, and money-lending.



Siddhakali Temple

Most of these early diaspora trading networks were centered in the greater Kathmandu Valley area, including the large satellites such as Dhulikhel and Nuwakot. Changes in the Kathmandu core's modern economic development affected the system in several areas. First, the decline of Valley cottage industries and artisan production, a result, in part, of industrial India's economic domination, has reduced many Newar trading families to being mere middlemen supplying imported goods. Second, as roads have penetrated the mid-hills from the south, Newar traders have also tapped supply lines independent of Kathmandu. Here, too, Kathmandu's predominance has waned. Third, other ethnic groups settling in the valley have taken up the Newar-style trade, and have gained an increasing share of regional markets. Finally, increased transport and communication has lessened rural

Nepal's dependence on hill supply networks, since people are more mobile and can travel for themselves to Kathmandu or the important supply venues in the lowlands. From the last century until recent years, the marketing structure of Nepal has been especially fluid and many adaptations have been made. Changes in the economic domain have also intersected with the extension of government institutions and the evolution of modern capital-district relations.

The culture of each Newar diaspora town represents a unique sample of the Kathmandu Valley's core culture, reflecting the migrants' places of origin, cultural preferences and historical adaptations. From the Valley they transplanted both the Hindu and Buddhist religions, ritual customs, architectural styles, distinctive festivals, and a common language. Ties with the core area were preserved in many domains, especially in marriage alliances, religious initiations of the local priesthood (especially for Buddhist priests of the Shakya and Vajracarya castes), and in pilgrimage choices. Such survivals reveal much about the nature of local adaptation and about core Newar culture as well; we will pursue these subjects in subsequent writings.

In the remainder of this article, we will introduce three important towns of eastern Nepal to begin the documentation of the Newar diaspora, one of the most important phenomenon that has shaped the evolution of modern Nepal.

PART II:

Historical Sources on Three Newar Settlements of Eastern Nepal

1.

Taksar-Bhojpur

Introduction

This town of roughly one thousand inhabitants had its modern genesis when the Rana government (during the rule of King Girvanayuddha Vikram Shah) opened a mint in 1814 near a copper mine and employed Newars from Patan to manufacture coins. Near an old north-south trade route in an area ruled by Kirata king Karna Sen until Shah conquest and annexation in 1772, at this place called "Khikamacha" Newar settlers established a small bazaar and began small-scale operations. Laborers from the neighboring hills were also employed to work the mines and were housed nearby. The people here prospered: some also manufactured metal vessels and others developed their regional trade. When the mines were finally closed, after the country's mints were all relocated in Kathmandu, only metalwork and trade endured. Since then, some families have moved elsewhere and the economy has declined.

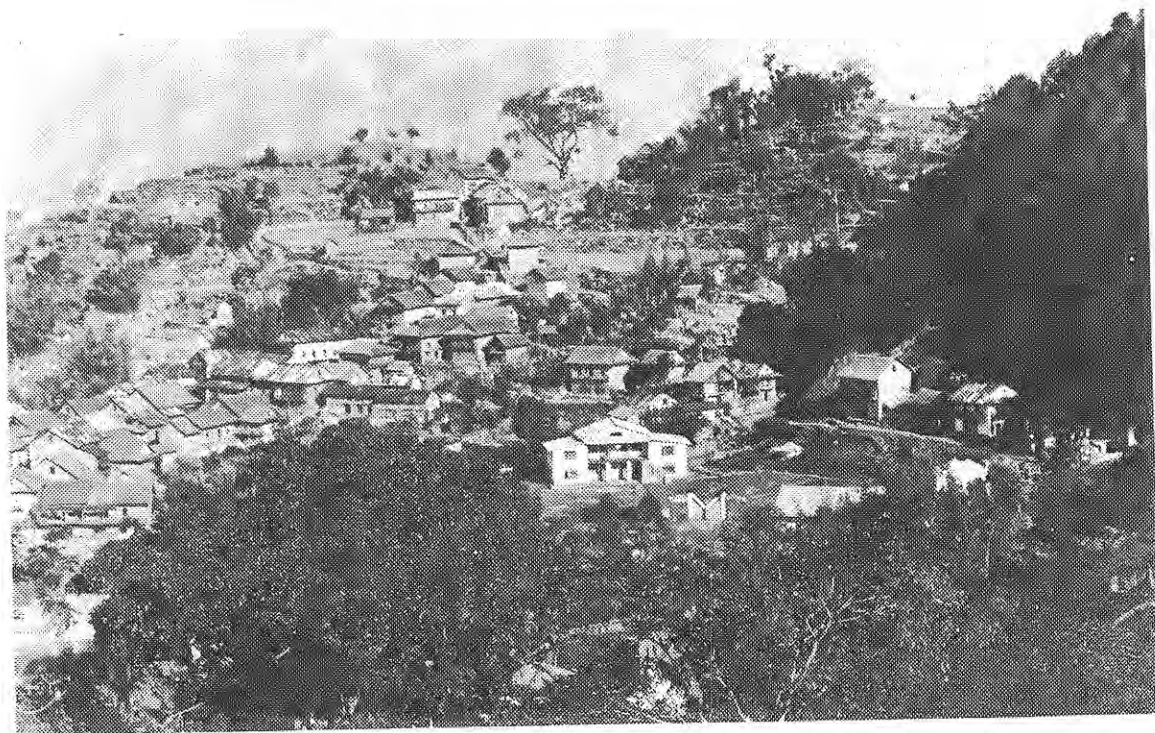
Taksar was also affected by the establishment of Bhojpur, the settlement 35 minutes walk up to the ridge above Bhojpur because the district headquarters of the area, one of six divisions in the Kosi Zone. Most merchants had to relocate there and businesses expanded to accommodate the inflow of workers who staffed a host of government offices and schools.

The population of the region is composed of many ethnic groups, with Rai the most numerous population. During the weekly hat bazaar in Bhojpur, hundreds of people from the neighboring hills come to trade.

The modern town of Taksar, the focus of our study, has both Buddhist and Hindu castes and many religious monuments. Important temples are there for Bhimsen, Ganesh, Siva, Radha-Krishna and Siddha Kali (located on the hilltop above the modern Bhojpur bazaar).³ Taksar also has a vibrant Buddhist community, including two *vajracarya* priests and a *baha* where the *bare chuyegu* initiation is maintained. The Theravadin movement from Kathmandu has been there for several decades and it remains strong in modern Taksar. There are a number of stupas located throughout the settlement and an Avalokitesvara temple is the major Buddhist monument. The 43 inscriptions collected here in 1987 indicate the unique vitality of Taksar culture, especially in the early decades of this century.



A View of Tokar Bazar



When presenting the following information, we note information on the inscriptions, record the text in transliteration, then summarize the content.

Inscriptions

Ins. No. : Tax 1
Location : Inside Ganesh Temple, Ganesh Tole, Takshār
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanāgri

Swasti sri samvat 1987 V.S. sal miti āṣādh sudi 20 roj 3 mā sri 3
siddhi vināyak priti gari sikāmāchā bitlav basnyā ratna lāl tāmṛākar
kāraṇni pramukh sammohan bhai pital torana cadhāyā subhama.

Summary: In 1930 AD, Ratna Lal Tamrakar offered a brass *torana* to the Siddhi Vinayak temple.

Ins. No. : Tax 2
Location : Shakyā Muni Vihar, Pāṭi
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Namo Buddhāya sri sakyamuni vihar 2033 V.S. sāl jesth 27 gate
buddhabarko din dibagata swa. mumājyū buddha laxmi ko nāmmā cirsānti
tathā punnyako lāgi sāl wa sāl byājbāta prasād vitarana ko lagi hāmi
pariwar bāta sri sakyā muni bauddha sangha lāi cadhāeko 100/05 ek
sahe ru pānca paisā subhama.

Cadhaune

Krisna lal, balkrisna
harikrisna pradhan
a. ga pa taksar

Summary: In 1976, Krishna Lal, Bal Krishna, and Hari Krishna Pradhan deposited Rs. 100/05, with the interest intended to underwrite the distribution of *prasād*.

Ins. No. : Tax 3
Location : Bhimsen Tole, Chaitya, Taksār
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri samvat 1993 V.S. sāl srāwana sukla purne 20 gate som bā
sare dina sri 3 panca buddha priti gari khikamacha japhati raikar
basnyā siddhi ratna sākyā vansale sakala jāhān pariwar sammohana bhai

dhalaute diyo eka cadhyā subha
thana - 1

Summary: The family of Siddhi Ratna Shakya offered an oil lamp to the Bhimsen Tol *chaitya* in 1936.

Ins. No. : Tax 4
Location : Viddhyādhari Ajima Temple, Takshār
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Subha samvat 1962 sāl mā sikāmāchā bajār kā waripari basyāka sabai sammohan bhai sri 3 vidhyadhari māi priti gari banāyāko suvarnaka molamā gajur 3 tarphi parkhāl dhoka samet ko srāwan badi 14 roj 2 mā patistā gari cadhāyako kasaile nabigarnu bigri bhatko gayo bhanyā kasaile jirnodhwār garna sake bado purna holā subham

Summary: The people of Khikamacha bazaar jointly offered a gold-plated *gajur* to Biddhyadhari Ajima in 1905.

Ins. No. : Tax 5
Location : Vidhyādhari Ajima Temple, Taksar
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri samvat 1974 sāl miti baisāk sudi akāsaya tritiyā sri 3 vidhyādhari devī priti gari pātan nāgbāhāl bāta āi basne bhimdhan tasya putra sikhāmāchā raikar basne jotī māl sakye vansa ra putra jog raj puna raj nāti puna ratna sākya vansa sammohana bhai salika ra sinha sādhar cadhāyako kasaile lobhāni pāpāni garyā panca mālā pāpāka lāgla.

Summary: The family of Jyotiman Shakya jointly offered statues of Singha Sadhu and Salika to Viddhyadhari Ajima in 1917.

Ins. No. : Tax 6
Location : Vidhyādhari Māi Temple, Takār (East side wall of main shrine)
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri sāke 1846 sri samvat 1981 sāl miti baisāk sudi 2 gate 24 roj 4 mā sri 3 bidhyadhari māi priti gari sika mācha raikar basne beti māyā so putra dev bahadur kul bahadur krisna bāhādur kā putra sakala pariwar sammohan bhai dhalaute siha sihini cadhāyā.

Summary: The family of Beti Maya offered a pair of metal lions to Viddhyadhari Ajima in 1924.

Ins. No. : Tax 7
 Location : Tindhārā Ganesh Temple, Taksār
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri samvat 1983 sal āsādha sudi 13 roj 6 mā sri siddhi ganesh priti gari sikamacha raikar basnyā dev nārāyan tamot le patni mān kumari putra purna bāhādur bhīm bāhādur sakala sammohan bhai cadhāyakā dhwakā subhama.

Summary: The family of Deva Narayan Tamot jointly constructed a metal door at the Tindhara Ganesh shrine in 1926.

Ins. No. : Tax 8
 Location : Tindhara Ganesh Temple, Taksār
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Sri ganesaya namo !

Swasti sri sambat 1992 āswina sudi 15 roj mā sri ganes priti gari bitlabko raikar basne janga lal tāmṛākār le so patni sammohan bhai dhalautyā dipikā thān 20 cadhāyā subham.

Summary: Janga Lal Tamrakar offered 20 metal oil lamps to the Tindhara Ganesh shrine in 1935.

Ins. No. : Tax 9
 Location : Tindhara Ganesh Mandir, Taksar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri samvat 1983 sāl māgh sudi 9 roj ... paka dirgha 15 mā sri 3 siddhi ganesh priti gari ___ sikāmāchā raikar basne byatī māyā so putra dev bāhādur, kul bāhādur thir bāhādur dān bāhādur ambar bāhādur sakala jahān sammohan bhai dhalautyā muso bāhana 2 cadhāyā.

Summary: The family of Beti Maya jointly offered a pair of metal rat statues to the Tindhara Ganesh shrine in 1926.

Ins. No. : Tax 10
 Location : Barmā Tole, Chaitya bell, Taksār
 Language : Newari
 Script : Devanagari

Sri sambat 1943 sākē 1979 sāl sākē bansa sake bansa maniraj sākē bansa rāj muni sākē bansa kula ratna tāmṛākār hari das tuladhar,

budhi raj tuladhar sikaji, tho te sakalayā pariuaryā dharma citta
juyāwa sri bhagawān yāta ga dayekāwa tayā jula sunāna gumasina adharma
yātasā panca mähā pāp.

Summary: Devotees made a cash donation to make a bronze bell for the
Barma tol *chaitya* in 1886.

Ins. No. : Tax 11
Location : Tindhārā middle one, Taksar
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Subha sambat 1966 sāl miti phagun badi ... roj ... ma nepāla daugal
tole bāṭa āi basne sikāmāchā basne asdur dhruva nawa lal, kulvir,
prithvi raj, siddhimān, kālu bāhādur lok bāhādur, lakhecā, kānchā
tamot l sahita bhai dhalawatako dhārā banāi cadhāyāko ho yesmā
kasaile lobh-āni papani nagari
pani panca mähā pāpāk lāgne cha

Summary: The Newars who had migrated from Daugal tol, Patan, contri-
buted jointly to cover the stone water tap with brass plating in 1909.

Ins. No. : Tax 12
Location : Vidhyādhari mai Ajima Shrine (inside) west wall
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sāke 1912 sambat 1948 sāl miti phāgun sudi 15 roj l mā sri
viswa karmā priti gari sikamāchā basnya jasu dhan bauchācārya sa patni
dhana laxmi pautra sahit gari pitalko pātāko dewal banāi cadhāyāko
kriti yasmā kasaile lobhāni pāpāni garyā bhane panca mähā pāp lāgla
subhama.

Summary: Jasudhan Bauddhacarya constructed the inner shrine of
Vidhyadhari Ajima in 1891.

Ins. No. : Tax 13
Location : Vidhyadhari Ajima Shrine North wall
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri sambat 2037 sri sāl baisāk 2 gatemā bho. cuwadāndā basne susri
nanda kumāri tāmārākār le sri vidhyādhari ajimā lāi Rs. 210/- arpan
garieko cha.

Summary: Miss Nanda Kumari Tamrakar of Cuhandanda, Bhojpur, made an
offering of Rs 210 to Vidhyadhari Ajima in 1980..

Ins. No. : Tax 14
 Location : Vidhyādhari Shrine wall (outside)
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

2033 V.S. sāl jeshṭh 27 gate buddhabar dwādasi ko dīn dibagata swa.
 mumaju buddha laxmi ko nāmmā cir sānti tathā punnyako lāgi sāl wa sāl
 byāj bāṭa prasād bitaranako lāgi hāmi saba pariwār bāta sri ajimā
 guthi lāi chadhayeko Rs. 105/05 ek sahe panch paisā subhama

Cadhaune

Krisna lal balkrisna
 hari prisad pradhan
 taksar a. ga pa - 5

Summary: In 1976, Krishna Lal, Balkrishna, and Hari Prasad Pradhan jointly offered Rs. 105/05 to the Ajima *guthi* to provide *prasad* for the annual gathering.

Ins. No. : Tax 15
 Location : Vidhyadhari Ajima Shrine, Right bell, Tokshar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri samvat 1824 vikramāditya sambat 1959 nepali sambat 1022
 sāl miti āṣāḍh sudi 1 roj 1 mā ṭaksār ko sri 3 viswakarmā priti gari
 cadhāyāko pātan ilane tol nāgbāhāl bāta hāl sikāmāchā birta basnya
 citra muni bhaju ratna pramukh stri putra putri sahit bhai cadhāyāko
 ghanta yo, kasaile lobhāni pāpāni garyā panca mātā pāp lāgla subham.

Summary: The family members of Citramuni and Bhoj Ratna jointly offered the cash to construct a bell offered to the Ajima temple in 1902.

Ins. No. : Tax 16
 Location : Vidhyadhari Ajima Shrine left bell, Toksar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1962 nepālī sambat 1024 sāl miti srāwan badi 14 roj
 2 ma sri 3 vidhyādhari devi priti gari sikāmāchā bitlab basnya sri
 sākyā vāsa dharma singh so putra dhanjyoti, dhanarāj, harsa raj siv
 raj sahit bhai cadhāeko ghanta phuti bikammā bhai so māthi thap gari
 jirnodhār gari cadhae kasaile lobhāni pāpāni garyā panca maha pāpāk
 lāglā subham.

Summary: A joint contribution by devotees was made to repair the bell formerly offered to Vidhyadhari Ajima in 1905.

Ins. No. : Tax 17

Location : Vidhyadhari Ajima Shrine Pāti, Taksār

Language : Nepali

Script : Devanagari

Subha sambat 1962 mā miti baisakh sudi 1 roj 1 mā sri 3 vidhyādhari māi priti gari sikāmāchā bitlab basne sri bhawāni thaku putra dev raj, siddhi raj, buddhi raj, mani raj, haru sahīt bhai banāyāko pauwā kasaile nabigārnu bhatki gayā bhane jirnodhar garnu sabaile huncha subham.

Summary: The family of Bhawami Thaku constructed a resthouse near Vidhyadhari Ajima in 1905. It adds that future repairs on it meet with no objection.

Ins. No. : Tax 18

Location : Bhimsen Shrine Door (supporting pillar), Taksar

Language : Nepali

Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1956 sāl sri sāke sambat 1821 sri nepālī sambat 1019 miti bhādra sudi 14 roj 2 ma sri 3 bhimsen bhim bhairav nath priti gari pitalkā dhokā toran chatra samet nepal pātan tangal tol bāta hāl sikāmāchā bitlab gāo basnye tamrā kāra harsa nāran putra siddhi rāj buhārī nāni beti putri pautri sakal pariwar sammohanle carhāyāko ho subham.

Summary: In 1899, the family of Harsha Narayan Tamrakar constructed a metal door, torana, and umbrella at the Bhimsen shrine.

Ins. No. : Tax 19

Location : Bhimsen Tole Chaitya (base part), Toksar

Language : Nepali

Script : Devanagari

Vikram sambat 1956 sāke sambat 1821 nepāl sambat 1019 pātan ubāl bāṭa hāl sikāmāchā bitlab basnye dhijvir barā bāṭa so pātan bāṭa taksār basne rajman bārā ra batti bālne diyā 16 caitye dharma dhātu bageswarāya

Summary: Dhirja Shakyā and Rajman Shakyā jointly offered a *dharmadhatu mandala* and sixteen lamps to the Bhimsen tol chaitya in 1899.

Ins. No. : Tax 20

Location : Bhimsen Tole Chaitya bell (mid one), Toksar

Language : Nepali

Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1956 sri sāke sambat 1821 sri nepālī sambat 1019 sāl
 miti srāwan sudi 1 roj 2 mā sri 3 panca buddha caite dharma dhātu
 buddha bhagwān priti garyāko buddhācarya citra muni bhāju ratna
 bodhācarje buddhimān dāspatiko jāhān ko sammohan bhai banāyāko ghanta
 cadhāya phute tute bhanye manasuwa bhayākole banai

Summary: The family members of Citramuni, Bhaju Ratna, and Buddhiman jointly offered a bell to the Dharmadhatu Bhajan in 1899.

Ins. No. : Tax 21
 Location : Deorali Tole, Bhagbati Shrine bell, Toksār
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Sri Sambat 1998 sāl asmin sudi 12 roj ... mā kāsila tamot le cadhāyāko
 sri 3 bhagbati mai ki jaya jaya jaya.

Summary: Kasi Lal Tamot offered a bell to the Bhagavati shrine in 1941.

Ins. No. : Tax 22
 Location : Lokeswar bāhā, Taksār
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri samvat 1999 sal aswin māse dina 14 gate buddhabār ka dina
 sri tin pancabuddha pritigari khikamāchā raīkar basnyā ratna rāj sāke
 vansa so patni lāni thakun, so putra pautra sakala pariwar sammohana
 bhai dhalaute vajradhātu ra nij ka putri ganes kumāri parlok bhayekole
 nijkā nāuma pitalyā sri dharmadhātu samet cadhāya subhama.

Summary: The family of Ratna Raj Shakyā offered a *vajradhatu mandala* in the memory of their father Ganesh Kumari at the Lokesvara Baha in 1942.

Ins. No. : Tax 23
 Location : Lokeswar baha bell, Toksar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Sri sambat 1997 sāl srāwana sudi 15 roj 7 ma pancabuddha vihar samipa
 sri tin lokeswar priti gari sikāmāchā basne dev bāhādur krishna
 bāhādur harsa māyā sapariwār samohan bhai cadhāyāko ghanta subham.

Summary: Dev Bahadur, Krishna Bahadur, and Harka Maya jointly offered a bell to Lokesvara Baha in 1940.

Ins. No. : Tax 24
Location : Lokeswar baha
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri Karunamaya namo

2023 sāl jestha 27 gate buddhabār dwādasi ko din dibagata swa mumajyu buddha laxmi ko ātmāma cir santi tathā punnyako lāgi hāmi pariwar bāṭa sri karunāmaya dāphā bhajan lāi cadhāeko ru 105 ek saya pānca subham.

cadhāune

krisna lāl bālkrisna
harikrisna pradhān

Summary: Krishna Lal, Balkrishna, and Harikrishna Pradhan offered Rs. 150 to the Dhapa Bhajan in the memory of their late mother Buddha Laksmi.

Ins. No. : Tax 25
Location : Karunamāya Shrine right side inner beam right one, Toksar
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Om namo sri amogh pās lokeswaraya

Sri pitā ratna rāj sākyā bāta sthāpit gareko sri machindra nāthko mandirmā sri sambat 1071 vikram sambat 2008 sāl asādhā sukla pakse tithimā patni lāni thakun putri laxmi thakun purna māyā māl kumārī karna kumari samet kanyaharu sammohan bhai so mandirko thik dhoka khudkilamā pital mohari pitalka ser ra toran samet āphnā gakshe anusār cadhāyā yesma kasale lobhāni pāpāni nagarnu garmā jasle sahaya garlā uslai nitya vakhchan nigāhā bhagbān namraha satya jasle bigarna kana gardacha lobha pāp tyes lāi pardcha sada anikal tāp subhama

Summary: The family of Lani Thakun constructed brass steps, offered a pair of lions, and a torana to the Lokesvara shrine in 1951.

Ins. No. : Tax 26
Location : Sākyemuni Vihar bell, Taksār
Language : Newāri
Script : Devanagari

Sri sambat 2009 bu. 2496 ne. 1072 sa sri sākyemuni bhagban pritiyana gyān jyoti guruju, jogrāj guruju, asamaru sakye, singha rāj sākye jog rāj sākye ratna jyoti sākye, muni raj sākye, hansa raj sākye, puna ratna sākye jogman sākye buddha ratna sākye khadga raj sākye kul

bahadur tulādhār, hari bāhādur tulādhār, dev bāhādur halwai kul jyoti sākye laxmi nārāyan tulādhār harkhadha sākye basudev tāmṛākār caturmān sākye dev rāj tamrākār, rabi nāra newār kāligar hem bāhādur, candradhan tamani sākye sikha: tamha sankha ratna, purna bāhādur tāmṛākār, sakal grambāsi sammohana juya cadheyānāgu jula ka. sukla astami adityabār gate 10 khunu cadheyānā subhama.

Summary: In 1952, 24 persons jointly offered a bell and a chair to the Shakyamuni Vihara.

Ins. No. : Tax 27
Location : Ganesh Shrine near Sākyamuni Vihār
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sāke 1847 sri sambat 1982 sri nepāla sambat 1046 sāl phālgun māse sukla paksa triyodasi tithau sri māse phagun masedin 14 guru bāsare tadine sri 3 siddhi vināyak priti garī khikāmāchā taksār basnyā jog rāj vajrācārya so patni candra kumārī putra ratna bāhādur, kul bāhādur putra putri sammohan bhai cadhāyāko ghānta kasaile lobhāni nagarnu pāpni garya pakshamā patak lāglā yo ganta dhalne kāligar sikāmāchā bitlab basnyā chatradhan sākyā biksu. subhama.

Summary: The family of Jog Raj Vajracarya offered a bell to the Ganesh shrine near Shakyamuni Vihara in 1925.

Ins. No. : Tax 28
Location : Ganesh Shrine near Sakyemuni Vihar
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri sambat 2014 sāl mārga 21 gate bār 6 purnima kā din khikāmāchā bitlab basne puja pitā manbir mātā suku laxmi ko nāmmā toksār erabat ajambar cadhaune mānjyoti jit bāhādur sāke sakal pariwar samohan bhai cadhāyāko kasaile lobhāni pāpāni nagari bakselā subhama.

Summary: In 1957, the family of Man Jyoti Shakyā offered statues of an elephant and a horse to Siddhi Vinayak near the Shakyamuni Vihara in the memory of their father and mother.

Ins. No. : Tax 29
Location : Lokeswar Bāhā, Taksar
Language : Newari
Script : Devanagari

Namo Buddhya Namodhārmaya Namō Sanghāya

Sri sambat 2013 sāl kārtik mahinā thugu dharmik sanskriti 10: the dharma prachār kāmānā yasya ji Gyaniyoti Bajrachārya so bhārya Nhuche māyā Bajrachāryā nimha jānā sri sākyamuni tathāgāta kwāpāju sri karunāmaya thāne matu kikipā sahita sthāpanā yānāgu kha: thugu kwāpāju Buddhayā pratimā hāl 2022 sāl baishāk 6 gate sri Harkhadhan Sākya pramukh weka:yā sangathita sākya pingu cudakarmayā niti āwasyaka jula dhakā dhai bijyā:gu juyā wospolpigu hi:takāmanā yāsye sthāpanā yānā tai thakāgu kwāpājuyā pratimā sthāpanā yānāgujula biyāmha Gyānjyoti Bajrachārya

(Sambat 2022/7/Kachalā Punhi)

Summary: Gyanjyoti Vajracarya offered a *kwapa dya* Buddha image to the Lokesvara Baha to maintain the *cudakarma* initiation for Shakya boys in 1956.

Ins. No. : Tax 30

Location : Lokeswar Baha, Toksar

Language : Nepali

Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sāke sambat 1848 sri sambata 1983 sāl miti āshmin māse sukla pakshe purne tithau saura mase kārtik dīne 5 gate gurubarkā dina sri 3 Panca Buddha Bhagbāna prati priti gari khikāmāchā bitlap basne chatradhan sāke bansa pancha dhana sake bansa, ratna raj sāke bansa āsāmaru sāke bansa sahita putra pautra sammohan bhai cadhāyāko ghanta singhasādu ra cakra diye kasaile lobhāni pāpāni garyā panca mākā pāpaka lāglā subham.

Summary: The family of Chatradhan Shakya offered a bell, lions, and a set of oil lamps to the Lokesvara Baha in 1926.

Ins. No. : Tax 31

Location : Bhimsentol Pillar

Language : Nepali

Script : Devanagari

Sri sake 1846 sri sambata 1981 sal miti baisak sudi 3 gate 25 ro:j 4 ma sri 3 bhimsen priti gari skhikamacha raikar basnye byatimaya so putra dev bahadur kulbahadur krisna bahadur halwai ko putra sakal pariwar sammohan bhai dhalaute singha singhini cadhaya / Subhama //

Summary: Beti Maya Halwai offered a pair of lions to the Bhimsen shrine in 1924.

Ins. No. : Tax 32

Location : Lokeswor Baha, Toksar

Language : Newari

Script : Devanagari

Sri sāke 1818 sri sambat 2024 sāl māgh 6 gate phālgun krisna pakshe 2
dutiya buddhabār thukhunuya disā raikar ya sri karunāmaya thānasa
raikar bitlab alagthāna nivāsi bajracharjye wa sāke bansa pini
macātayeta cudakarma yāyeta bāhāla wa digi dayekāwa bāhalasa hyagu
barnamha wkāpā āju thāpanā yānā bāhāyā liune digiyā si dayekāwa liune
si cakra sambara bajra barāhi sameta thāpana yānā dasakarma yānā sri
padma mahavihar dhakā nāmākaranayana pratistha yānāgu din jula thugu
kirtiyā dāna pati raikar nibāsi sri lāni thaku sākeni swaputra
harkhadhan ratna bāhādur, dev ratna, gangā bāhādur swaputra pautri
ādī kae wa lachuman, thir bāhādur sahīt thuguhe bāhālayā baudha
karma sudhār samitiyā sakala sāke bāsa samohan juyā thugu dev sthāna
thāpanā yānāgujula thugu kirti sadana thir juyemāla sunānā lobhāyini
pāpāyini yāe majyu guna // Subhama //

Summary: In 1967, a red *kwapa dya* was established in the Karunamaya shrine where the *cudakarma* for Shakya and Vajracarya boys could be performed. The family of Lanithakun Shakya meet all the expenses of the establishment ceremonies for the *agam dya* Cakrasambara Bajrabarahi at the Lokesvara Baha. The place was renamed as "Padma Chaitya Mahavihara."

Ins. No. : Tax 33
Location : Lokeswor Baha, Toksar
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1997 sāl saura māse baisāk māse di:n 28 gate sukra-
bār aksatritiyā ka din sri 3 panca buddha bhagabān priti gari jotirāj
dhanjoti harkha dhan sāke bansa haru 3 janā sammohana bhāi sri nāthe-
swar bhajandwāra bhayakā āmdāni rupaiyāle caitya sthāna utara disā
patti torana 1 cadhae // Subham //

Summary: Jyoti Raj, Dhan Jyoti, and Harkha Dhan jointly offered funds to the Natesvara Bhajan which were used to purchase the north torana of the *chaitya* in 1940.

Ins. No. : Tax 34
Location : Lokeswor Baha, Toksar
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sāke 1862 sri sambat 1997 sāl saurmāse baisākh māse din 27
gate roj 6 aksayatritiyākā din sri 3 panca buddha bhagwān priti gari
khikāmāchā ko raikar gau basne ratna rāj sāke bansa le so patni lāni
thaku so putra harkha dhan ratna bāhādur dev ratna gangā bahadur
sakala pariwar sammohan bhāi pitalako torana 4 disāma 4 torana ra
satal samet banāyi pokha ajimi gāuko āruboth sirana 352 moha rupaiyāma

rajināma bhayeka mālpot ru 1/12 lāgu pakhet kita 1 samet cadhāye so
dyaūṭalāi sālīn garnu parnyā karma aswin sukla purnekā di hom yagyan
garyna ra pachi kehi kalmāne caitya sthana ra so satal samet katai
bhatki bigre khaṇḍamā jirṇodhār garnu pachi āphnā darsantan jo
kasaile āphnu ghar gharanā bāṭa kharca lagai garnu nasakekā byalāmā
so jagga khetkā ayesthāle kharca gari karma calaunu bhāni jageda khet
samet cadhaye. Pachi kālāntarmā kohi kasaile lobhāni pāp garyo bhanya
pātak lāglā // Subham //

Summary: In 1940, the family of Ratna Raj Shakya offered four *toranas* and constructed a Bhajan resthouse; they also offered land income valued at Rs 352 for the yearly performance of a *homa* on Asvin Purnima.

Ins. No. : Tax 35
Location : Lokeswor Baha
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1988 sāl miti baisāk 30 gate roj 7 mā sri 3 pānca
buddha bhagbān ko thāumā priti gari khikāmāchā raikar basne ratna rāj
sāke bansa swa stri lāni thaku putra harkha dhan, ratna bāhādur putra
devratna gangā bāhādur sakala pariwarle priti gari cadhāyeko chatra
kasaile lobhāni pāpani gare panca māhā pāp lāgla subhama //

Summary: The family of Ratna Raj Shakya offered an umbrella to the Lokesvara Baha in 1931.

Ins. No. : Tax 36
Location : Lokeswor Baha
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri

Namo ratna trayaya

Sri nepālī sambat 1070 bikram sambat 2007 sāl baisak sukla pache 3
tritiyā brihibār din 8 gate so din sri 3 padma pāni karunamaye loke-
swara priti gari khikāmāchā raikar basne harkadhan sāke bansa so
bhārya kul māyā so mātā lāni thakun. Kani bhrita ratna bāhādur, dev
ratna gangā bāhādur sakal pariwar sammohan bhai aghiswarga bāsi
pitajyu ratna rāj bāṭa pāṭi banai rākhnu bhayākāmā so pāṭi jirnodhār
gari so pāṭi mandir banai duitalle chānā rākhi tallo cyādar ra 1
māthi pitale chānā rākhi so mandirmā sunko gajur ra dayā bayā sunkai
kalas rākhi patisthā gari sīrma kriti cadhayau. So kirti mandirmā
kasaile lobhāni pāpani garinu hudaina garemā panca māhā pāp lāgne
cha / Subham //

Summary: In 1950, the family of Harkhadhan Shakya offered two *kalashes* and made renovations on the resthouse, especially a new brass roof.

Ins. No. : Tax 37
 Location : Lokeswor Baha
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1999 sāl aswina māse din 10 gate buddhabarkā din sri 3 panca buddha priti gari khikāmāchā raikar basnya ratna raj sāke bansa so patni lāni thaku so putra pautra sakala pariwar sammohan bhai bajra dhātu l nijka putri ganesh kumāri parlok bhayekā laxmika nau pitalya sri dharma dhātu samet cadhaye / Subham //

Summary: The family of Ratna Raj Shakya offered a vajradhatu chaitya in 1942, in memory of their late daughter Laksmi.

Ins. No. : Tax 38
 Location : Bhimsen Shrine Door, Taksar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti 1957 sāl Nepal sambat 1020 bhādra wa sudi 10 ro:j 10 bhimsen priti gari pital ko daihilo pāṭan tugal tole ko khikāmāchā raikarmā basnye harka nārāyan putra sir prasād, hari prasād sakala pariwar sammohan bhai banayāko subham //

Summary: The family of Harkha Narayan constructed a brass door for the Bhimsen shrine in 1900.

Ins. No. : Tax 39
 Location : Ganesh Temple, Ganesh Tole, Taksar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Swasti Sri Sāke 1842 Sri Sambat 1977 Sri Nepali 1042 Sāl Phalgun māse din 20 gate roj 5 mā Sri 3 Siddhi ganes priti gari khikāmāchā bitlap basnya hars rāj udās tassya mātā laxmi kumāri sammohan bhai tassya pitā dev rāj udās ko nāumā dhalaute singha sādu ra ajambar purus 4 cadhāya.

Summary: The metal statue of Singha-Sartha-ajambara and purus were offered by Harkha Raj Udas in 1920.

Ins. No. : Tax 40
 Location : Collapsed Pati, Barma Tole, Taksar
 Language : Nepali
 Script : Devanagari

Sri Sambat 1980 Sal Sri Sake 1845 ma

..... Kādasi srāwan 11 gate Harkh rāj udās mohan māyā
basānta rāj basundharā jagdish rāj krisna dās, indra lāl, dān bāhādur
birya lāl sabai sabai janāle priti gari dharmasālā banāyā kasaile
lobhāni pāpni nagarnu.

Summary: The resthouse was built by a group of people of Taksar in
1923.

Ins. No. : Tax 41
Location : Barma Toḷe, Ganesh Temple
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti Sri Sambat 1973 Sāl miti baisākh sudi 3 roj kā din5 din
mā Nepal bāṭa hāl khikā machā Bhojpur cuhandārā basane hari dās
tāmṛākār patni herā māyā sahit le sri 3 siddhi ganesh priti gari
dewal banāi musāko bāhā torana ghanta samet chadhāi sthāpanā gareko
ho kasaile lobhāni pāpni nagarnu subham.

Summary: The temple of Siddhi Ganesh, the rat vehicle statue, torana,
and bell were built by Haridas Tamrakar in 1916.

Ins. No. : Tax 42
Location : Shiv Mandir near Lokeswor Baha
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri Ganesaya namo //0// bhuyo bhuyo bhabino bhakta barnanul
ranadhojya chate supranāmya // samanyoya dharma setunarāyana le kale-
pala niya bhawadri //1// sri sampurnadesa bandhu tathā lekhiēkā merā
chorā nāti ista santān dar santānmā maran dhvaj kārki chetri yo kurā
prārthana gadacha maile yo khikāmāchā 3 dhārā ko māthi parkhal le
sahit dewalayā 5 banāi shiv panchayan devta sthapanā gari khet kittā
7 moharu 800 guthi rākhi khadā garekā dharmalai tapasīl bamojim ko
khaboar sabai kurāko her bicār jagedā jirnodhwār bar badhne himayat
gari kāmgarne karmachāri lai pherne ra jageda bata jirnodwār garna
napugemā jirnodwār garidine bhakta lai dharma sālā prapadina surdhamra
sadā naghal labheta sataguna punnya jirna sanskar xxx //1// bhayekāle
saya gunā badi punnya milne hunale jirnodwār pani garidine dewatāko
guthi rāheka karmachāri dhati chali harne khāne khuwāune le : yaswa-
dātā paraidātā hare ta sura bipraya / britisajayate dii bhugu barkha
namaputa putam //1// lākhau barkha bisthāko kiro hunu parcha bhanekāle
kasaile lobhadi nagari 40 dharmakirti lāi jaha samma prithvi rahanchin
taha samma thir rākhi dine kām garnu holā bhani tāmā patra lekhi sri
siward gare.

guthi

tapasil

Pujāhārike merai nāmasi dartāko salle kitta 2 paharāmani dipeni 1 rajinama cyahan dade gairi 1 gari jamma 4 kittā khet -----	4
Nagarjike merai nāmasi dartako harsiddhi dadako khet khala ek---	1
Jagedāke ka ru 2000/- ko 10 mure 15 mure rajināma dipeni khet khālā dui -----	2
Jagedā ru 800/- dasaudi byājmā lagai byaj ru 80/- kharca gari sawa jagedā rahane moharu ath saye-----	800

kharca

Akshaya 3 wala 14 risi tarpani 15 sivratri 16 ram 9 ma rudi garna ke jamma ru -----	6/25
Akkshaya 3 ram 9 ma bhajan garnake jamma ru -----	3/-
12 Purnimama bhajan garnake jamma ru -----	13/-
Wala 14 Sivratrimā bhajan garnāke jammā ru -----	9/50
Laxmi Pujāmā batti bālnāke ru -----	1
Jhadu badhāruke ru -----	12/-
Wala 14 mā cun lagāunāke jammā ru -----	10/-
Caturmāsa Puranāke ru -----	20/-
1115 mure khetko bali ru -----	5/25
lekhioka khet ra ru 800/- jimmā li lekhioko kāma sāl calaune ra 10/15 mure khet ko dhān bikri byāji lagāni dwārā jageda badaune bad thap kharca garnu paremā garne samet pariaeko her bičār rakshā yāwat kām garne -----	
Ravidwaj karki 1 dan bahadur ai 1 sahu dev bahadur 1 sahu siddhi raj 1 harka dha bada 1 sahu buddhi man 1 badri nath sahu 1 yiniharu aruka bolinaka tapasil ma lekhiyeka sekha pachi inika chora natiharu jawan -----	7

Summary: Maran Dhwoj Karki Chetri informs all of his fellows and relatives that he has constructed a wall around the Siva Temples in Khikamacha near the *tin dhara*. Siva Panchayana devta and he established a *guthi* with the land kitta No. 7 and Rs. 800. All the devotees have to take care of this *guthi* as mentioned below. If rennovation is required, extra income made from the land can be used. If it is not sufficient, any one of devotees can do this and he will be favoured by *sata guna* for carrying out such a rennovation and *punya* will be secured. Those who try to cheat and misuse the money will have to live as a dung insect for millions of years. So he hopes no one will be greedy and that it will endure as long as the earth exists.

Chainpur

Introduction

The history of this ridgetop settlement, recounted in the oral account published below, is a paradigmatic case study in the retreat of the Tibetan frontier due to the extension of the Gurkhali state after 1769. This place was clearly an important stopping point on a major trade route through the eastern hills.

After the conquest, Newars migrated from the Kathmandu Valley to establish a metal-working community that found an economic niche supplying the hinterlands. Traders were also part of this settlement that, like Taksar, migrated mainly from Patan. This production is still lucrative today and the town during waking hours resonates with the tap-tap-tap of hammers on copper.

With the emergence of the modern state, the town prospered and expanded due to the district centre being established there. Offices and health care institutions developed a more diversified economy. A number of families became very affluent and the neat flagstone streets bespeak of this town's general prosperity. But when the district centre was shifted to Khadbari, a time of major local upheaval, the economy receded considerably. Today, Chainpur is a separate *gau panchayat* numbering over 3,500 individuals, with Newars living down the long ridgeline bazaar, surrounded by a variety of ethnic groups on its periphery of terraced fields.

The modern village has much less of a cultural inventory to boast of compared to Taksar, but there are two *viharas*, one *chaitya*, a temple to Siddha Kali outside the town limits, and a number of free standing temples to Bhimsen, Krishna, and Vishnu. Theravada Buddhists have also established a small *vihara* in the lower west sector of town and this group is by far the most active religious organization in Chainpur. The Buddhist Newars here must call the closest *vajracarya* in Khandbari for special rites, since there is no local lineage; Newar Hindus rely on Pahari Brahmins.

An interesting monument is a crudely carved marker (shown in Plate 1) noting the distance to Hanuman Dhoka. This graphic, emic expression of the modern state's core-periphery geographical definition we also noticed on the trailside marker several hours walk southwest of Chainpur, near the Banesvar temple located in a forest grove.

Historical Sources

1. An Oral Account of the History of Chainpur

"Once Chainpur was under the jurisdiction of the Tibetan government and it was known as Gola Bazaar. In a later period, a former Shah King (name ?) of the Kathmandu Valley issued a royal order, sending Colonel Madan Singh Basnet to visit Gola Bazaar, study the situation, and influence the Gola Bazaar people. But his effort was fruitless given the presence of a well managed Tibetan garrison. But the clever and wise Colonel attempted to trick [the Tibetans] and asked for friendship with them. So he went to observe their new year festival, and celebrated with great enthusiasm. The Tibetans thought that these [men from Kathmandu] were not their enemies, but the good fellows and offered them food and drink, etc. But unfortunately, after much drinking, they lost their attentiveness. And with his opportunity, the Colonel assassinated many of the Tibetans here, at Dadim Gauda... A large number of Tibetan fighters were also killed around the Siddhakali temple. On seeing their loses, the remaining Tibetans tried to run away and were pursued by the Colonel's troops up to the Walangchung Gola region of Taplejung District. They could not go further due to cold in this high Himalayan region and so the Colonel put his line of demarcation close to that place.

"At that time, Chainpur was a famous trade centre for whole eastern region, and Terathum and Ilam were also included within this area. [In Chainpur,] Colonel Madan Singh Basnet established the Mahadev Shrine and made a beautiful garden with a large rest house (Mojo Pati). As a result, people from distant places came to settle here. Later several shrines such as Bhimsen, Narayan, Ganesh and so on were also made. He established some *guthis* to take care of those shrines and finally he returned to Kathmandu.

"This historical events can be proved from the sayings of Colonel's descendants living in Kathmandu. They also say that they have got some *guthis* at Chainpur established by their ancestor."

[Source: Elder of Chainpur who wishes to remain anonymous.]

Inscriptions

Ins. No. : Chain 1
Location : Siddhakāli Temple Bell
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sambat 1919 sālma Chayana Pur basnyā Ses nāra Kumāle Sri 3 Kali
devi priti gari ganta cahrāya yasa ghantamā kasaile lobhāni garyā
pancha mähā pātaka subham.

Summary: Sesa Narayan Kumale of Chainpur offered a bell to the Siddhakali Kali temple in 1862.

Ins. No. : Chain 2
Location : Siddhakālī Temple Door North
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri Siddhakali sarana sāhu Chandra bahadur sarana 2005.

Summary: In 1947, Sahu Chandra Bahadur of Chainpur made a brass door for the north entrance of the Siddhakali temple.

Ins. No. : Chain 3
Location : Siddhakali front side plate
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Phul tipnāko nimti 1 naroki agādi baradai jāu timro bāṭoma
nirantar phul phulirahane chana.

Rabindranath Thakur

Sri Siddhakali mahadev mandir ko charaipatti raheko chali jaggama
dhuga chapi aja 2016 sal marga 21 gate roj 4 ko din sri siddhakali
devi ma sādhar samarpan gareko cha.

Krisna Prasad Tuladhar
Dharmapatni Bal Kumari
Chainpur Bazar

Summary: Krishna Prasad and family made a renovation of the ground area around the Siva temple in 1959.

Ins. No. : Chain 4
Location : Narayan Temple Bell left one
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri sri sri sāke 1841 sri 1976 sāl magh sukla pakshe tithau 5
bāre sye subha dinmā jahe sinha karmāchāryaka putra megh narsingh ka
patni bet lachimi swa putra chainpur golābājār niwāsi singha mān
karmācharya so stri lackimi nārāyan pritaye gari chadhāyāko ghanta
kasaile lobhāni papāni nagarnu subha //0//

Summary: The family of Singhaman Karmacharya offered a bell to the Lakshmi Narayan temple in 1919.

Ins. No. : Chain 5
Location : Nārāyan Temple Bell right one
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri sambat 2003 sāl magh 14 gate 2 mā sri sate nāra sri lachimi nārāyena mā chadhāyāko pitā dhiyvjvir jakulāni pitā nanda lāl mātā man kumari dhātu ghanta hāmle ka nāuma chadhaya bir sundar josi dev lachimi kuj lāl hom lāl khadga kumārī samet le chadhāyeko ghanta.

Summary: Bir Sundar Joshi and family jointly offered a bell to the Narayan Temple in 1946.

Ins. No. : Chain 6
Location : Narayan Temple Shrine door beam
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sambat 2003 sāl māgh 23 gate roj 4 mā sri lachimi nārāyan ma chadhayako dibagata pita dhirja bir jaka lani nanda lal sri kumari bir sundar dev laxhmi purnalāl pancha kumari khadga kumari sohan lāl bir bāhādur dev bahadur

Summary: The main door of the Laksmi Narayan temple was covered with brass sheeting by the family of Lal Dhirja Vir in 1946.

Ins. No. : Chain 7
Location : Bhimsen Temple Bell right one
Language : Sanskrit + Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri Bhimeswārāya nama: do dande nawalena naye nānihato ko danda dusāsana yuddhe bhisana pradhān duryodhanāya dhatram yo hanti sa mulak prachanda bali nakā mā takekibaki satru nāma pada bhayakar nimatri bhimrāj bhaje.

Swasti sri sambat 1938 sal mangsir sude 15 roj 7 mā Nepal pātana dhālācheku tola ko hāl chainpur bajār basne krisna bir ko chorā hira-lāl le dāju moti lāl ko nāmmā cadhayāko hāl sambat 1995 ma 7 unai hirālāl ka chorā ratmān sresthale jirnodwār gareko.

Summary: A bell was offered to the Bhimsen temple by Krishna Vir Shrestha in 1881 was renovated by Ratna Man Shrestha in 1938.

Ins. No. : Chain 8
Location : Bhimsen Temple Bell left one
Language : Sanskrit + Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri bhimeswaraya nama: dodande nawalena naye nani hato ko danda dusāsana yuddhe bhisana pradhān duryodhanāya dhatram yo hanti sa mulama pracanda bali nankā mātare ki baka satru nāma pada bhayankar nimatri bhimrāj bhaje.

Swasti sri 1803 sāke sambat 1938 sāl miti marga sude 15 roj 2 mā Nepal pātana sar hāl chainpur gola bazār basne sāhu hira lal ko mahila chorā swargabāsi pāunākā nimitta jagar man sāhuko nāule ra baini sata kumari ko nāuma dāju rātman sahule chadhayāko ghanta ho kasaile lobhāni pāpāni nagarnu subhama.

Summary: In 1881, the family of Ratna Man offered a bell to the Bhimsen temple to insure the heavenly peace of his late brother.

Ins. No. : Chain 9
Location : Bhimsen Temple stone plate
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri gānāpatiya nama: sake 1765 sambat 1800 sāl 1 miti paukha sudi 2 roj mā sri bhimeswar mandira pāti pātan sahar dhalāsiko tola ko santurak sumi kasa sāhunikā suputra krisnavir ko bhāryā ananta laxmi so putra bhai banāyeko 1982 sāl barsa kal ma bhatki 1983 sal phalgun 10 mā sudi mā sri rataman sahu ani so bharyā padma kumari suputra krisnamān tathā jog laxmi samet bhai jirnodhār gareko bhimsen ko mandir pāti subham.

Summary: The renovation of the Bhimsen temple resthouse built by their ancestors Krishna Vir and Ananta Lakshmi in 1843 was carried out by Ratna and Krishna Man in 1925-6.

Ins. No. : Chain 10
Location : Ganesh Mandir base of lion statue
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sri sambat 1956 sāl miti phālgun 15 roj 4 mā sri bhimsen priti gari sinha banāi sri 3 babāju.

Hirālāl kā nāumā sāhu ratna mān le cadhāyāko ho subham

Dates of bells offered to Ganesh B.S. 1989, 1950, 1919.

Summary: A set of lion statues was offered to the Ganesh temple by Ratna Man in 1899. The dates on other bells donated here were 1932, 1893, and 1882.

Ins. No. : Chain 11
Location : Ganesh Mandir Pratimā Singhasān (stand)
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Bajārma basnye bābāju sri siv narsing sirisa swargabāsa hundā unko putra manirāj chandra lal kiritiman bridhimān nāti sagati mān

hāmi pāc bhāi harule bābājyu swargabās pāunako nimti hāmi pāc bhāiko
dharma citta utpatibhai kasā dhātu ko singhasan kadan samet sri priti
gari

Summary: Muni Raj, Chandra Lal, Kirtiman, Bridhiman, and Saktiman
jointly offered a throne to Ganesh in the name of their father Siva-
narasingh.

Ins. No. : Chain 12
Location : Krisna Mandir
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Swasti sāke sambat 1766 V.S. 1901 miti bhadra din 8 roj 4 mā sri
3 krisna ka pritigari rājman si pradhan gari singhāsan
banai sri 3 krisna ka pritima banāyā kiribhu namastu subham.

Dates of two bells offered to krisna temple (A) B.S. 1978 (B) B.S.
1976.

Summary: Rajman Pradhan offered a throne to the Krishna shrine in
1844. Bells there dated to 1921 and 1919.

Ins. No. : Chain 13
Location : Bhagbati Mandir Thana
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Bhagbati Mandir Nirmān Sambandhi Vivarana

Praharī nāyeb nirikshak sri harka bahadur pradhan ko sakriyatāmā
sri 5 badā mahārāni aishwarya rājya laxmi sāhā sarkarko 35aau subha
janmotsab ko suawasar 2040 mā bhu. pu. sa. ma sri sankar mān singh
adhikāri bāta silānyas bhai 36au subha janmotsav 2041 ko suavasarma
sthāniya bayobridha sri ser bāhādur srestha bāta udghāṭan bhai tala
lekhiyā anusārko nirmān samiti ko sāthai anya candādātā haruko udār
sahayog bāṭa yo bhagbati mandi nirmān kārya sampanna bhayo.

Nirman Samit nam

Khadānanda Paudyel	-	Adhyaksha
Gyān bahādur kārki	-	Upādhyāksha
Jagat bāhadur katuwāl	-	Sachiv
Ser bāhādur sresthā	-	Koshadhyaksha
Surendra kumar adhikāri	-	Sadasya
Tulsi prasad bajgai		"
Sevaka prasad sākye		"
S. Narayan srestha		"
Indra bāhādur adhikari		"
Bharat nālāmi		"
Ghanshyām basnet		"
Pra. na-ni Harka bāhādur pradhān		"

Amdani - 21573/05

Mukhya chanda dataharu ko namabali tatha rakam

Ganga sākye murti ra pujā sāmān	1551/-
Sa.sa Jilla Panchayat	1875/-
VDO bāta Kedār prasād mārphat	700/-
Cini bikri kamisan jilla karyālaya marphat	600/-
Pra. Pa. Gyan bahadur kārki	500/-
VDO bata Parbat srestha mārphat	485/-
Shyam sunder udās	400/-
Pra. Pa. Surendra bāhādur adhikāri	325/-
S. Nārāyān srestha	240/-
Ji.Pa.Sa. Raiman rai	225/-
Ser bāhādur srestha	200/-
Bholā mān srestha	151/-
Sankar prashad srestha	101/-
Sa. Renjar Chandra sekhar	100/-
Pra.Pa. Buddhi lal likha	150/-
Prahari yogdan	4096/-
Anyā sāmātinā chanda bata	9434/05

Kharcha Vivaran

mandir nirmān	18322/05
murti ra puja sāmān	1511/-
ghanta - 2 aina photo	450/-
parewā ra parewāko gūd	200/-
tāmra patra ko	750/-
1 mandir bera	500/-

Sramadana dine adhikrit tatha jawanharu:

1) Pra.na.ni harka bāhādur pradhān	11) Pra.ja. gopal budathoki
2) Pra.sa.ni rānā bāhādur rāi	12) " " dipak gurung
3) Pra.ha. cakṛa praśhād upādhyāya	13) " " tej bāhādur basnet
4) Pra.ha. syam bahādur thapa	14) " " salik rām k.c.
5) Pra.ha. surya bahādur karki	15) " " nanda bahādur dahāl
6) Pra.ja. sri bahadur khadka	16) " " raj bahadur tāmāng
7) Pra.ja. bal bahadur k.c.	17) " " bishnu bahadur bhujel
8) Pra.ja. prem bahadur karki	18) " " sekh sarajul
9) Pra.ja. krisna bahadur tamang	19) " " bam prasād sigdel
10) Pra.ja. dil bahadur thapa	20) " " gantip rai

Prahari thana chainpur

42/4/29/3

lekhak ram prasād sakye

Summary: The Bhagavati temple construction committee built a Bhagavati temple in the courtyard of the police station from the donations of the people of Chainpur at the initiative of the Police Inspector Harka Bahadur Pradhan. The foundation was laid on the auspicious occasion of H.M. the Queen's 35th birthday and inaugurated on the auspicious occasion of her 36th birthday in 1984.

Ins. No. : Chain 14
Location : Siddhakali Temple front wall
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Gu.e.ji chainpur bajār gā.pa wārd na 2 basne sri tikārām sākye ko nāti sri meghamān sākye dharma patni srimati gangā laxmi sākye ka chora sri kesav lal sakye swayam dwara hasta nirmat bhagbatiko kalātmak dhalaut murti yasai siddhakālī bhagbatiko mandirmā āja miti 2032/1/18/4 mā cadhayāko.

Summary: A metal statue of Bhagavati was made by Keshav Lal Shakya and offered to Siddhakali Kali Bhagavati in 1975.

Ins. No. : Chain 15
Location : Majer Pati on way to vihar
Language : Sanskrit + Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri

Sri bāneswar mahādev

Sri ganesayanama: Sri 5 mahārāj ran bahādur sā:

- 1) Swasti sri mangal murteya nama: sajayati sindur badanodeba yatpāda pankuja smaraṇam //
- 2) niri watam sāra sinna rāmatu bighranāma //1// swasti sri sā swatan pramukh nripagunai
- 3) gaindāra sikshā tapanā bhut surpati vipu nepāla desentrya sā: ru srima sinha pratāpo bidita gunasarasya
- 4) stwā swasttri jasabāsi tasmātathā sri nripati rana bādur sāho wabhūā //2// om bina sabi bāsa no parigate sbhusma
- 5) ksakhi kali kaya nā bi pachebtābi hi ri pawā: purba kirātasya leswaktā se rana purbake nabi bhunā dattā dhikāro ba khata bāro singha padanta ke
- 6) yukti sangato yadho narpā yān //3// natwa siddhi puresta beda gaṇa candrāsyā mite bikramākabdi ratikula bijitya sakala sgamyā gyaya kārya bāda
- 7) gatwa stāmidhakha nripate parasnādikatwā pita tas māntusta manoranam jagati nādho sra ya: sri pratā: //4// tasmāi dhira bibaya sri padma datksha
- 8) swarakha kshetrākār jitendra: saca balāranta makaro bipradimi-sadhana: prāsādā laya bhi swarasya kula suddhantu babāsmataka swārāmabahubri

- 9) sreyastu cayanapure ta thā sat prañām //5// ja bedinta hima
calaika bisaya sinha sanā dhasina: sri matkā: syapagotra sambhawa
nripa sresta kā
- 10) syagrani sri bharadwāja kula dewastu kahar sinho bhawantutsuta:
singhantotki dharmmikohi bakhat bar swara syā yudha //6// prasād
singha:
- 11) kulman singh karyya tatha nanā hitma singh putrāpta sakalpita
purba rakshyantatasketra sa tha pranaya raghusma //7// watur-
khadi kshupra
- 12) tikilitā sāsarakta mudra kitrāj putra sidānuā dā nāma ca pujanā
pujyasno ri basyabdāra bateswarsya //8// ata: para des bhā
- 13) sya likhyate // // sri sambata 1848 sālmā purba dishā pallo
kirātmā bairile kul gardā 1 wa 8 sardār kahar singh ba
- 14) snyatkā kānchā chorā kāji bakhat bā: dur singh basnyāt lāi pani
lagi kul garnyā bairi lai mārī tyas mulukko bando ba
- 15) sta gari ā: bhani hukum gari baksadā prabhuko hukum sir barhai
- 16) kanani linga siddhipurmā bairi sanga ladāyi garya ladayi jitam
- 17) yo: kul garnyā bairi jojo hun tinlāi mārī mulukko bandobasta gari
ānanda purbaka basyākā thiyā tastai bakhatmā āphulāi jetha putra
- 18) prasad singh basnyāt paidā bhayāko sahar kantipur bāta khabar
lekhindā atyanta khusi bhai kāji bakhat ba: dur singha basnyatka
pra x x x
- 19) āphna sathāmā rāhyākā bhāi mahān bhalā ādmilāi yathā yogya gari
khilwat siropāu diyā brāhmana bairāgi ya sanyāsi
- 20) x x x x x atit agyajat garib gurubāharulai anna bastra drabyadi
dii baksyā: aba testāmā kehi kirtiko sthāpanā garyā ho ma bibida
pustai
- 21) dibagatalāi sundar hiti sahit bagaicā banāi x x x sahar kantipur-
mā gayā kaidiya gari a: kul gari ayāko britan gari bidhi hukum
- 22) tyasari diyā ba tyati bakhat sundar hiti mā x x x rāji ca ghaika
kama jagerā: garnā lāi guthi milekole cayanpurkā anchalko
calauthya byasi kholo rusta bāre
- 23) killā sa killā bica ba: dur singh basnyatkā nāumā guthi ko lāl
mohar gari baksanu yo kāji bakhat ba: dur singh basnyatle pani
jat jatkā kaphal phulāi
- 24) gaurab bagaica adhik sundar gari banāyā pheri sundar hiti mana
raji bagaicāko kinār banaunya nimityai tulā rām upar x x x x x
- 25) rai brahman lai bhojan garnā lagāyā taha pachi kāji bakhat
bā: dur singh basnyatkā jethā chorā prasād singh basnyāt mahila
chorā kāji kehar man singh
- 26) basnyat kanchā chorā kāji hit mārī singh basnyāt le pani tasai
birta udar brahmanlai lagāi pauwā banāyā x x x x x
- 27) nityak pujā calāi taha uprānta: kāji kulmān singh basnyāt chetri
kāji megha gambhir singha basnyat chetri bāta guthikhetko
- 28) āmdānile nai tyasai killākā sudhā brāhāman bhojan rudri pāthko
bheti dakshina parba parbamā x x x anandai sakh mahista x x x x
- 29) pujahā guthiyār x x x x basnyāt hārulāi khangi dinā nimityāi
guthi khet pākhāko āmdāni kharcako tapasil lekhi āphnā xx

- 30) santānle silāpatra rakhyā guthi mā x x x x x likhā bamojim puja
gairhako kharca kati naghatai čalaūnu kāmārlāi pani diyā x x x
- 31) o juna kokhmā girinu x x x yoki karkha gari khātir strikā ra ghar
kuriya basyāko semā sa unya pha guya sharma basi rahyāko
- 32) x x x gehru bastra nirmān pani yasai sālko jagera rakhnu daibigat
pari bali naa:yaka samayama tehi jagerā bāttā lekhiyā bamojim
- 33) puja garai kharca kaṭāunu guṭhiyārle sāl wa sāl āmdāni kharca
bahi banāunu guthiko kharca barbad garnyālāi
- 34) desa nikālā garnyā: bigri bhatkyoko sāl wa sāl banāudai rahanu
guthiko nāmma kati pani lobhāni pāpāni kasai
- 35) le nagarnu x x x le didai batāyenusār yo dharma kirti thāpanako
pālanā garnu jasale yasa guthiko pālanā.....

English Translation

During the reign of the King Rana Bahadur Shah in 1848 V.S. (1781 A.D.) a Royal Order was issued for Sardar (Commander) Kahar Singh Basnyet saying that the region under the control of Kiraties be brought within His majesty's jurisdiction.

This order was loyally agreed and the brave Sardar marched towards Siddhipur. They fought there in full strength and won the battle. The defeated soldiers were badly tortured and killed.

While he was breathing in peace, he got good news from Kantipur of having a newly born child, his first son: Prasad Singh Basnyat. He was very pleased on hearing this good news and whoever the people in his favour were, he rewarded handsomely with property; he also rewarded ascetics; and those who suffered from poverty were also provided with grains, clothing and property.

To keep in memory this auspicious occasion, he also desired to establish some monuments and he made a beautiful water tap with a well-decorated flower garden. He then went back to Kantipur to imprison the defeated high officers. The story of this event was told to all in the Royal Palace.

So, he established a guthi to take care of the beautiful garden and tap and a paddy field of Byasi Khola in Chayanapur Zone was also allotted to this guthi. The Lalmohar Document was issued in the name of Bahadur Singh Basnet. At that moment Bakhat Singh Basnet also planted different varieties of fruit plants [myrika nagi] to add to the beauty of the garden. He made one more tap there and a *Bhojana Dana* was also offered to the Brhamans on this occasion.

After that, Kaji Bakhat Bahadur Singh Basnet's first son, Prasad Singh Basnet, second son, Kaji Kehar man Singh Basnet, and last son, Hitman Singh Basnet, jointly made a resthouse and a shrine. To maintain the daily puja at this shrine, Kaji Kulman Singh Basnet Chetri also jointly offered land to the guthi. The *Bhojana Dana* to

Brahmans and for *Rudri Patha* were organised from the land's income. The [yearly] festival is to be organised from the amount collected at the shrine. The necessary food and expenses were also provided to *guthi* members. All of this was described in the inscription so all the members have to follow this inscription to maintain the *guthi*. The workmen for the *guthi* were also provided with attractive allowances. Those of *guthi* members who have no descendants in later generations will [have their membership] transferred to the female line.

An amount was also deposited for the preparation of ascetic clothes. In case of suffering from natural calamities such as draught or landslides, do not discontinue the *puja* but other expenses can be deducted. Anyone who attempts to misuse the income of *guthi* will be punished and he will be expelled from this locality and will have to suffer from *pap*. All the members have to follow this rule for the sake of the *guthi*.

Ins. No. : Chain 16
Location : Bhimsen Pati
Language : Nepali
Script : Devanagari

Sri hari saraṇam
dharma stambha
hare rām hare rām rāma rāma hare hare
hare krisna hare krisṇa krisna krisna hare hare
Kalima moksha ko sapaṇā

Kewala c hari nām kirta nai cha bhanne sri guru kavi prasād
gautam ko ukṭi sri prasād lāi bhannu bho ra bhagbata kirtana paṇi
garāunu bho tyo samjhana prati barsha baisāk 15 gate ahorātra kirtan
garne garau.

Stha: 2015 mārga 12 gate roj 5 mā purba 6 nā chainpur bazār ma.
Prarthi - d. bhawāni prasād sharmā/shrestha haru krisnamān, bholāmān
ganesh prasād nārāyan prasād sunder lāl singhamān surya bāhādur bhīm
prasād bi narendra kumār bhakta bāhādur vijayā laxmi lalit bāhādur
k.c. manik lal tāmū purna bahadur bi candra lāl ananta prasād ra amā
man kumāri hari prasād joshi krisna prasād tuladhar jyoti mān shākya
indra kumāri baniyā bhakta bāhādur bāniya bi parasurām basnet di
bhawāni prasād sharmā ra pa shiv prasād sharmā jog laxmi tirtha prasād
shrestha.

Nepal bāta su. bhai āune janardhan purba saraswati

le mahila kaji
Patan

Summary: Ahoratri Hari Kirtan was organized by the grant from Krishna Dharma followers in Bhimsen resthouse and in commemoration of that auspicious day, the inscription was inscribed in 1958.

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Nepal: Consequences of Migration and Policy Implications

Harka Gurung

I. CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

The dominant pattern of highland-lowland migration in Nepal is an indicator of regional imbalance. Increasing population pressure in the highlands and polarisation of development in the lowlands have contributed to larger volumes of this migration trajectory in recent decades. Most of the migrants are moving from resource-poor regions to regions with more land resource and employment opportunities. Inter-regional migration in Nepal has a positive impact on the total economy in both the origin and destination regions. Large-scale out-migration from highlands aids in relieving the pressure of population in depressed areas by providing alternative areas and avenues for livelihood. Transfer of population through migration to resource-rich regions has various advantageous impact on the destination area. Migration of economically active population to low density areas in terms of available resources leads to fuller utilisation of those resources. Expansion of cultivated land in the lowlands has directly contributed to an increase in overall food production. Increment of population in such high potential regions also contributes to increase in economic activity, more production and economic development. The consequences of migration are most apparent at the destination whereby the lowlands are undergoing significant changes in demographic character, social composition, land use and level of development.

a. Demographic Shift

An obvious consequence of large-scale inter-regional migration has been the change in the size of regional population. Since the mid-1950s, population growth rates have been consistently higher in the lowlands. They also had higher rates of net migration. The average annual population growth rate for the country during 1952/54-81 was 2.16 percent. It varied from 1.22 percent in mountain/hill to 3.34 in the tarai to 3.46 in inner tarai. Of the total population increase of 6.5 million during 1952/54-81, inner tarai and the tarai accounted for 66.7 percent. The increase in density in terms of additional persons per square kilometer in the lowlands was four times that in the highlands. Thus, the lowlands share in total population increased from 34.7 percent in 1952/54 to 48.7 percent in 1981.

Migration was an important factor in the increase of the tarai population. During 1961-81, the tarai experienced 2.5 times increase in population and 6.4 times increase in net migration. The last decade (1971-81) recorded largest increases in population in regions of high in-migration. Mountain and hill regions with negative net migration

had a lower population growth. Growth rate and net migration was highest in the far west tarai. In the tarai, net migration volume was 10.5 percent of its 1981 population and 31 percent of its population increase during 1971-81. In the far west tarai, the volume of net migration was 39.7 percent of the regional population increase and 21.3 percent of its total population. Eastern tarai came next with a high percent of net migration volume to its total population and decennial increase.

During 1952/54-81, number of households in the country increased by 69.6 percent as compared to a population increase of 81.9 percent (Table 1). Household increase was 39.9 percent in the highlands and 120.8 percent in the lowlands. The share of the lowlands in total households rose from 36.7 percent in 1952/54 to 48 percent in 1981. In 1952/54, the highlands had a larger average household size (5.8) than the national average (5.6) and that of the lowlands (5.0). Three decades later, average household size of the highlands declined while that of the lowlands increased (Table 1). The lowland average household size (5.9) in 1981 was higher than that of both the national average (5.8) and the highlands (5.7).

In 1981, 51.3 percent of inter-regional migrants were males. Regions with high net migration gained more in male population. The change in sex ratio during 1952/54-81 was 100.4 to 117.8 for the lowlands and 100.7 to 112.5 in the highlands (Table 1). Eastern tarai, eastern inner tarai and eastern mountain/hill regions all changed from female to male preponderance. On the other hand, number of males to females declined in central and western mountain/hill regions. Male predominance was most marked in the tarai. By elevation zones, the percentage of males in 1981 was 51.2 in the mountain, 50.5 in the hill and 52 percent in the tarai.

The increase in male population was more prominent in the tarai, the prime destination of inter-regional migrants and immigrants. The increase of males vis-a-vis females was high in eastern tarai that also had the highest volume of net migration and immigration. Within the hills, Kathmandu Valley with considerable in-migration, had a very high increase in males. The overall rise in sex ratio in favour of males may be also be attributed to decrease in the rate of emigration and increase in immigration which are both male dominated.

The broad age group of inter-regional migrants in 1981 was distributed as 70.2 percent of 15-59 years, 22.6 percent below 14 years and 7.2 percent of over 59 years. Migration seemed to have contributed to the relative youthfulness of population in the destination regions. In 1952/54, the tarai had a higher median age (23.3) than the mountain/hill (19.9). Three decades later, median age for the tarai declined while that of mountain/hill increased. The proportion of youthful population increased markedly in the tarai. The median age for the tarai became lower than that of the mountain/hill, thus reversing the previous situation.

Table 1: Number of Households, Average Size of Household and Sex Ratio by Geographic Regions, 1952/54 and 1981.

Region	Number of Households		Average Household Size		Sex Ratio		
	Percent		Percent				
	Distribution	Increase	Distribution	Increase			
	1952/54	1981	1952/54	1952/54	1981	1952/54	1981
NEPAL	100.0	100.0	69.6	5.6	5.8	100.6	105.0
HIGHLANDS	63.3	52.0	39.9	6.8	5.7	100.7	112.5
Mountain/Hill	58.4	47.5	37.9	5.8	5.7	101.0	101.3
1. West	16.3	13.4	39.0	6.1	5.8	102.5	101.0
2. Central	22.0	18.4	41.4	5.5	5.6	101.0	100.9
3. Kathmandu Valley	4.9	4.8	63.7	5.5	6.2	102.2	113.5
4. East	20.1	15.8	33.0	5.8	5.6	98.5	102.0
LOWLANDS	36.7	48.0	120.8	5.2	5.9	100.4	117.8
Inner Tarai	5.4	8.0	141.7	6.1	6.2	99.6	103.9
5. West	1.3	2.6	229.3	6.5	6.5	100.0	102.8
6. Central	1.9	3.2	181.5	6.1	6.1	102.0	106.0
7. East	2.1	2.2	76.8	5.9	6.0	96.8	102.4
Tarai	31.3	40.0	115.5	5.0	5.9	100.6	108.6
8. West	2.5	4.8	222.9	6.2	6.8	109.7	112.6
9. Central	5.1	6.1	101.2	4.7	6.1	103.1	108.9
10. East	23.7	29.0	107.3	5.0	5.7	99.0	107.8

Sources: Census 1952/54, Pt. I, Section 1, Table 7 and Section 2, Table 1 Census 1981, Vol. I, Pt. I, Table 1, and Table 3.

The increase in population of 0.14 years age group during 1952/54-81 was 52.7 percent in mountain/hill and 202.3 percent in the tarai (Table 2 A). The proportion of this age group in the tarai population rose from 36.3 percent in 1952/54 to 42.5 percent in 1981. Their increase in the mountain/hill was marginal, 39.3 to 40.5 percent. Thus, there was a shift in dependency ratio² at the macro regional level. In 1952/54, the tarai had a lower dependency ratio than that of mountain/hill, 0.62 against 0.74 (Table 2A). By 1981, the tarai had a high dependency ratio of 0.83 compared to 0.79 for mountain/hill. Estimates of total fertility rate, on the other hand,

were higher for the mountain/hill (Table 2 B). The large increase in dependency ratio despite a lower level of TFR in the rurai, therefore, is indicative of sizable volume of households migrating with their dependents.

Table 2: Dependency Ratio and Fertility Rate by Macro Regions

A. Change in Broad Age Groups and Dependency Ratio

Broad Age Group/Years	Nepal			Mountain and Hill			Tarai		
	1952/54	1981	% Change	1952/54	1981	% Change	1952/54	1981	% Change
0-14	38.4	41.4	+96.2	39.3	40.5	+52.7	36.3	42.5	+202.3
15-64	58.9	55.4	+71.6	57.7	56.0	+44.5	61.8	55.4	+128.4
Over 64	2.7	3.2	+121.9	3.0	3.5	+71.2	1.9	2.1	+310.2
Dependency Ratio	0.70	0.81	-	0.74	0.79	-	0.62	0.83	-

Sources: Census 1952/54, Part I, Section 2, Table 2.

Census 1981, Vol. II, Table 5, pp. 61.64 and 67.

B. Estimated Total Fertility Rate

	Mountain	Hill	Rurai
1971a	5.99	6.08	5.34
1981b	5.88	6.45	5.87

Source: a. Karki, 1981 b. Nepal, CBS, 1986a.

Other demographic variables that signify greater change in the lowlands are occupational pattern and urbanisation. The increase in economically active population during 1952/54-81 was 30.6 percent in the highlands and 94.3 percent in the lowlands (Table 3). In 1952/54, the proportion of labour force in agricultural occupation out of the regional population was 96 percent in mountain/hill (excluding Kathmandu Valley), 65.2 in Kathmandu Valley, 94.9 in inner tarai and 92 percent in the tarai. Three decades later, the proportion of mountain/hill labour force engaged in agriculture declined only marginally: by 0.8 percent. It increased to 72.4 percent in Kathmandu Valley and declined to 89.3 percent in inner tarai and to 85.6 percent in the tarai. The proportion of non-agricultural labour force in the tarai increased from 8 percent in 1952/54 to 14.4 percent in 1981. The tarai accounted for 68.9 percent of the total labour force increase in non-agricultural occupation.

Table 3: Change in Occupation of Population Above 14 Years of Age and Economically Active, 1952/54-81

	1952/54	%	1981	%	Change	%
HIGHLANDS	2,585,323		- 3,376,483		- 791,160	30.6
<i>Mountain/Hill</i> (excluding Kathmandu valley)	2,410,653	100.0	3,087,848	100.0	677,195	28.1
Agriculture	2,313,823	96.0	2,938,223	95.2	624,450	27.0
Non-Agriculture	96,830	4.0	149,575	4.8	52,745	54.5
<i>Kathmandu Valley</i>	174,670	100.0	288,635	100.0	113,965	65.2
Agriculture	113,929	65.2	208,970	72.4	95,041	83.4
Non-Agriculture	60,741	34.7	79,665	27.6	18,924	31.2
LOWLAND	1,287,716		- 2,501,705		- 1,213,989	94.3
<i>Inner Tarai</i>	245,925	100.0	386,349	100.0	140,424	57.1
Agriculture	233,383	94.9	345,166	89.3	111,783	47.9
Non-Agriculture	12,542	5.1	41,183	10.7	28,641	228.4
<i>Tarai</i>	1,041,791	100.0	2,115,356	100.0	1,073,565	103.0
Agriculture	958,268	92.0	1,809,724	85.6	851,456	88.9
Non-Agriculture	83,523	8.0	305,632	14.4	222,109	765.9
Total	3,873,039	100.0	5,878,188	100.0	2,005,149	51.8
Agriculture	3,619,403	93.5	5,302,133	90.2	1,682,730	46.5
Non-Agriculture	253,636	6.5	576,055	9.8	322,419	127.1

Sources: Census 1952/54, Part One, Section 2, Table 12a
Census 1981, Vol. I, Part V, Table 24.

The increase in non-agricultural labour force is related with availability of non-farm employment. During the period under review, 1952/54-1981, the lowlands had a sizable growth in urban population. The share of lowlands in urban population increased from 17.4 percent to 53.3 percent while the proportion of population living in urban areas rose from 1.4 percent to 7 percent. Urban population grew both due to increase in number of urban localities and migration to urban areas. Of the 61,748 migrants to urban areas in 1971, 58 percent were directed to lowland urban localities (Nepal CBS, 1974, Vol. V, Table 40). The 1981

census does not provide data on migration for urban localities except categorizing the population as native or foreign born. However, a survey in 1983 of ten tarai districts indicated that 41.5 percent of internal migrants and 55 percent of immigrants were living in urbanized localities (Nepal, TFM, 1983, Tables 11.7 and 11.25). Thus, migration seemed to have contributed to the growth of urban population and increase in nonfarm labour force in the lowlands.

b. Socio-Cultural Dispersal

Migration has brought about significant changes in socio-cultural composition of the regional population. This change is most apparent in destination regions, the lowlands. There are also variations in extent of dispersal from native area among the socio-cultural groups. Census data on religion and mother tongue available since 1952/54 can be used as indicators of such dispersal. It is to be noted that a high proportion of total population claim adherence to Hinduism (State religion) and Nepali (national language) as their religion and mother tongue respectively. The large increase in number of such claimants, therefore, include natural increase as well as those who have noted for these State patronised cultural norms. Adoption of Hindu religion and Nepali language is quite propounded among hill tribals and more so at migration destinations outside their native area. Thus, changes in population of minority religious and linguistic groups provide a better measure of socio-cultural dispersal than the spread of Hindu religion and Nepali language, both pan-Nepalese aspects.

The 1981 census reported nearly ninety percent of the total population as Hindus. The remaining were categorized as 5.3 percent Buddhist, 2.6 percent Muslim and 2.5 percent as others and unstated (Table 4 A). The Hindu population increased from 7.3 million in 1952/54 to 13.4 million in 1981. The large increase in Hindus in all regions was due to natural increase, claim and adoption of Hindu religion by the tribals and immigration of Hindu caste groups. The increase of Hindu population in the lowlands was more than three times than that in the highlands.

The minority religions, Buddhism and Islam, are more location-specific. Thus, in 1952/54, 78.9 percent of Buddhists were in the highlands and 97.1 percent of Muslims were concentrated in the lowlands (Table 4 B). In 1981 also, 72 percent Buddhists were in the highlands and 96.9 percent of Muslims were in the lowlands. Unlike Hinduism that incorporates diverse claimants, these two religious groups represent separate ethnic entities. Nepalese Buddhists are drawn basically from Mongoloid groups from the highlands while the Muslims are Caucasoid people from the plains.

Of the main three religious groups in Nepal, the Buddhist population showed the least increase (Table 4 B). The low growth of Buddhist

Table 4: Distribution and Change in Population by Religion, 1952/54 - 1981

A. Percent Distribution of Population by Religion

Region	Hindu		Buddhist		Muslim		Other/ Unstated		Total
	1952/54	1981	1952/54	1981	1952/54	1981	1952/54	1981	
NEPAL	88.9	89.5	8.9	5.3	2.5	2.6	0.0	2.5	100.0
Mountain/Hill	90.5	90.0	9.3	7.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	2.8	100.0
(Kathmandu Valley)	75.7	87.4	23.9	10.0	0.3	0.5	0.1	2.1	100.0
Inner Tarai	74.1	89.4	25.7	8.9	0.2	0.4	0.0	1.3	100.0
Tarai	90.8	89.4	0.8	1.8	8.4	6.3	0.0	2.5	100.0

B. Change in Buddhist and Muslim Population

	Buddhist				Muslim			
	1952/54	1981	Change	%	1952/54	1981	Change	%
NEPAL	707,104	799,081	91,977	13.0	208,899	399,197	190,298	91.1
Highlands	558,122	575,072	16,950	3.0	2,137	12,457	6,320	103.0
Mountain/ Hill (excluding Kathmandu Valley)	459,731	498,129	38,398	8.4	5,103	8,416	3,313	64.9
Kathmandu Valley	98,391	76,943	-21,448	21.8	1,034	4,041	3,007	290.8
Lowlands	148,982	224,009	75,027	50.4	202,762	386,740	183,978	90.7
Inner Tarai	128,829	113,405	-15,424	12.0	964	4,798	3,864	400.8
Tarai	20,153	110,604	90,451	448.8	201,798	381,942	180,144	89.3

Sources: Census, 1952/54, Part I, Section 2, Table 5.
Census, 1981, Vol. I, Part III, Table 13.

population as a whole may be attributed to attrition through Hinduisation. Buddhists declined in absolute numbers in Kathmandu Valley and inner tarai. Their increase in the mountain/hill (excluding Kathmandu Valley) was only 8.4 percent. Even in 1952/54, 18.2 percent of Buddhists were recorded in inner tarai. In subsequent decades, many of them seemed to have moved to the tarai. By 1981, their number grew substantially in the lowlands.

The increase of Muslim population during 1952/54-81 was 91.1 percent (Table 4 B). Part of this increase was due to immigration from India as well as Bangladesh. The tarai remains their area of concentration: 96.6 percent in 1952/54 and 95.7 percent in 1981. There was also some regional dispersal. Their number in inner tarai increased five-fold and in Kathmandu Valley nearly four-fold. The increase in Muslim population was 103 percent in the highlands compared to 90.7 percent in the lowlands.

The census of 1952/54 provides the earliest data on linguistic composition of the population (Nepal, Statistics Department, 1957; Part I, Section 2, Table 9). The various languages and dialects can be classified as 18 of Tibeto-Burman, 15 of Indo-Aryan, 3 of Dravidian and 2 of the Munda family. The distribution of total population by linguistic families as mother tongue was 77.3 percent Indo-Aryan, 22.1 percent Tibeto-Burman, 0.2 percent Munda, 0.1 percent Dravidian and 0.3 percent others unstated. By geographic category, 70.6 percent of total population had mountain/hill languages, 28.9 percent had tarai languages and 0.5 percent had inner tarai languages as their mother tongue. Of the total population, 48.7 percent had Indo-Aryan Nepali (hill language) as their mother tongue.

During 1952/54-81, those with mountain/hill mother tongue increased by 82.1 percent mainly through doubling of those reporting Nepali as their mother tongue. The large growth in Nepali speakers was both due to natural increase and adoption of Nepali as the first language mainly by Tibeto-Burman speakers. Thus, four hill tribal languages recorded absolute decline during 1952/54-81 (Map 1). Speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages increased only by 0.6 percent. Increase of population of those having tarai languages as mother tongue was 64 percent. All tarai languages, except Awadhi, had large gains in the number of speakers. Annual growth rate for Bhojpuri was 4.98 percent and that of Maithili, 2.24 percent (Table 5). It is obvious that such high growth rates were less due to differential natural increase but immigration from India, the source area of these languages.

There have been significant changes in number and proportion of population by mother tongue and geographic region. In 1952/54, the tarai had 138,237 persons or 6.1 percent of its total population with mountain/hill languages as mother tongue. By 1981, the mountain/hill language group in the tarai increased to 2,154,139 and constituted

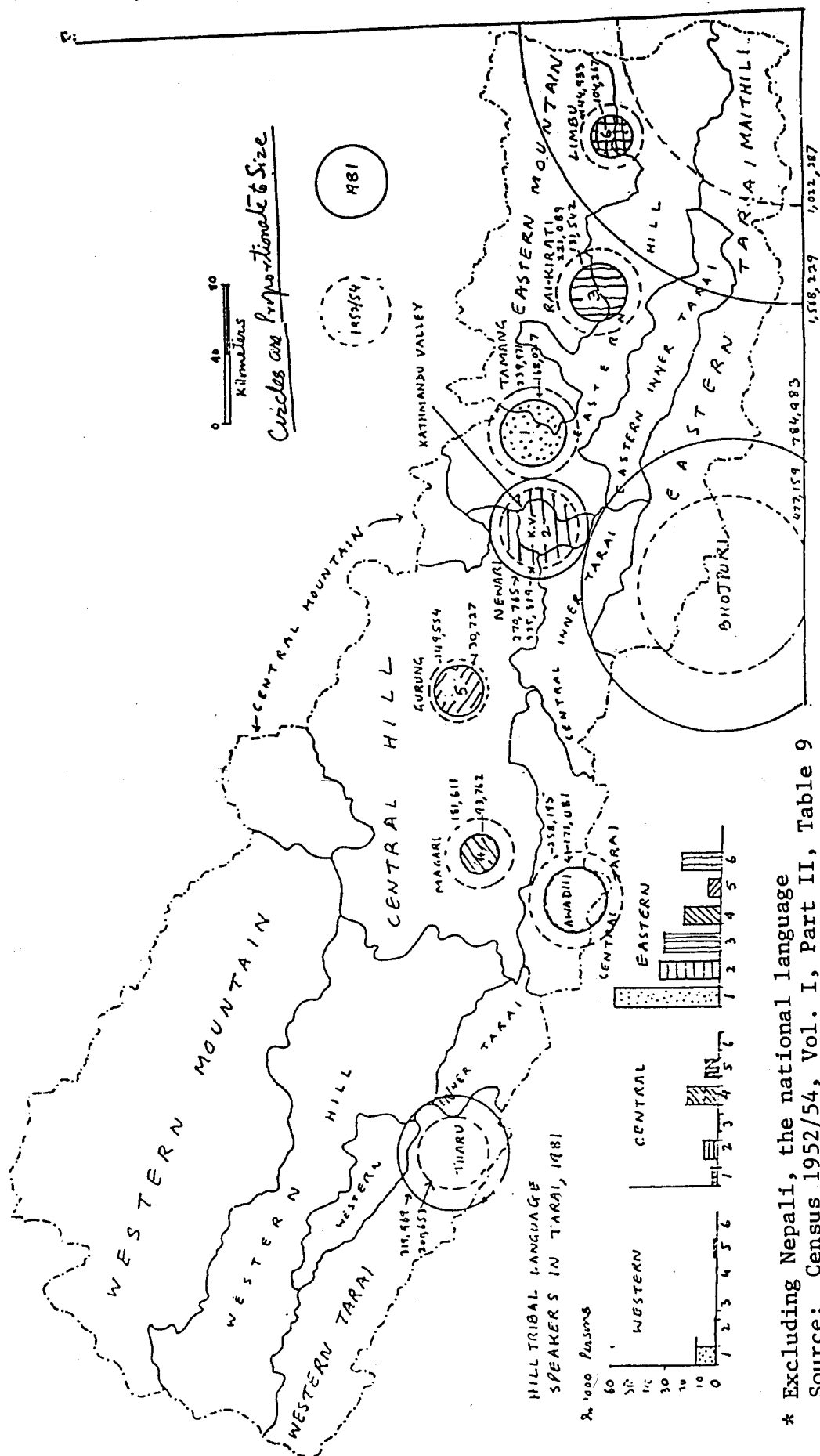
38.5 percent of the tarai population. On the other hand, the proportion of tarai language speaker in the highland population increased from 0.5 percent in 1952/54 to 1.1 percent in 1981. The largest increase in the tarai was among Nepali speakers. The percentage of Nepali speakers in the tarai rose from 2.3 in 1952/54 to 21.6 percent in 1981 (Table 5). The increase of Tibeto-Burman speakers (mountain/hill origin) was from 2.5 percent to 14.4 percent. All mountain/hill languages had proportionately higher increases in the lowlands than in their native area. The increase in the number and proportion of those with mountain/hill mother tongue in the lowlands was mainly due to migration.

Each language or mother tongue can be ascribed with a native area where the majority of speakers reside. The proportion of those living outside the native area may be taken as a measure of dispersal. In 1952/54, 9 out of 16 classified languages had over 90 percent speakers within their native area (Table 5). Five out of seven tarai languages had the least dispersal. No Rajbansi, Satar and Santhal speakers were recorded outside eastern tarai. Conversely no Bhote-Sherpa and Sunuwar were recorded in inner tarai and the tarai. Tharu and Tamang were the only groups that had a majority of their speakers outside their native area. The next linguistic group with high dispersal was Newari. A third of Nepali and Magari speakers were also outside their native area. Dispersal of Nepali was both due to migration and adoption of Nepali by Tibeto-Burman tribal groups. Of the nine hill languages, 4 had more than ninety percent speakers in their native area.

By 1981, only three tarai languages had more than 90 percent speakers in their native area (Table 5). Four language groups had more people outside the native area. Dispersal among Tamang speakers increased from 51.5 to 60.7 percent while for Nepali, it increased from 33.9 to 53.1 percent. Despite high dispersal, Newari and Tharu were the only groups that increased their proportion in their native area. Dispersal of Magari speakers was also quite high. Hill languages had a higher degree of dispersal in the lowlands than those of tarai languages in the highlands, an evidence of predominant highland-lowland migration.

Thus, the two macro regions show divergent patterns in the change of speakers by native area. Of the ten languages (other than Nepali) with more than one percent speakers out of the total population, six are of the hill group and four of tarai group (Map 1). During 1952/54-81, all such hill languages, except Newari, recorded absolute declines in their native area. The decline was both due to increasing adoption of Nepali language and dispersal by migration to other regions. In the tarai, on the other hand, all but Awadhi recorded increase in native area. The increase for Maithali and Bhojpuri was significantly high and this increase can be attributed to a high rate of immigration.

MAP 1: Change in number of speakers of main languages* in native area, 1952/54-81



* Excluding Nepali, the national language
Source: Census 1952/54, Vol. I, Part II, Table 9
Census 1981, Vol. I, Part III, Table 12

Table 5: Linguistic Dispersal by Geographic Regions, 1952/54 and 1981 and Growth Rate 1952/54-81 In Percent

Mother Tongue Native Area		In Native Area				Outside Native Area						Average Annual Growth Rate 1952/ 1952/ 54-81
		Moun- tain Hill		Kath- mandu Valley		Inner Tarai		Tarai				
		1952/ 54	1981	54	1981	54	1981	54	1981	54	1981	
MOUNTAIN/HILL												
Indo-Aryan												
1.Nepali	West/Central Hill	66.1	46.9	21.8	18.6	4.7	4.7	8.2	8.2	2.3	21.6	2.93
Tibeto-Burman												
2.Tamang	Eastern Hill	48.5	39.3	22.7	20.1	3.9	6.6	21.6	19.9	3.3	14.1	0.20
3.Newari	Kathmandu Valley	58.9	60.3	34.1	22.5	58.9	60.6	4.2	5.8	2.8	11.4	0.61
4.Rai- Kiranti	Eastern Hill	93.7	59.4	0.0	12.7	0.0	1.8	5.1	10.5	1.2	16.4	-0.28
5.Magari	Central Hill	66.3	50.4	18.6	12.3	0.3	0.5	9.8	14.6	5.0	22.4	-0.80
6.Gurung	Central Hill	92.2	76.4	5.6	4.7	0.3	1.9	1.6	5.7	0.3	11.3	0.27
7.Limbu	Eastern Hill	99.6	80.7	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.3	18.5	-0.40
8.Bhote- Sherpa	Eastern Mountain	74.5	46.9	25.1	35.4	0.4	2.6	-	1.7	-	7.8	0.18
9.Sunuwar	Eastern Hill	94.0	70.8	-	4.8	0.0	0.5	-	1.7	-	7.4	-1.37
TARAI												
Indo-Aryan												
10.Maithali	Eastern Tarai	99.8	94.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.0	1.1	2.24
11.Bhojpuri	Eastern Tarai	99.9	68.7	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	-	30.3	4.98
12.Tharu	Western Tarai	41.7	42.9	7.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	24.8	23.2	25.8	33.1	1.85
13.Awadhi	Central Tarai	78.6	73.0	0.1	0.4	-	0.1	1.5	0.2	19.9	26.3	-1.02
14.Rajbansi	Eastern Tarai	99.9	93.6	-	3.0	-	1.4	-	0.4	0.0	1.5	2.40
Munda												
15.Satar	Eastern Tarai	99.9	96.8	-	2.1	-	0.7	0.0	0.3	-	0.4	1.21
16.Santhal	Eastern Tarai	100.0	77.9	-	17.5	-	0.5	-	3.1	-	1.0	37.03

Source: Census 1952/54, Vol. I, Part II, Table 9
 Census 1981, Vol I, Part III, Table 12
 See Map 1.

C. Land Use Change in the Lowlands

One of the visible consequences of migration in the lowlands has been the change in land use. Since, most movement is rural-to-rural, it has involved large-scale forest encroachment for agricultural settlement. Estimates of deforestation in the lowlands diverge widely. For the period 1964-72, the figures for deforestation range from 120,000 hectares (Nepal, Forest Ministry, 1976:5) to 340,000 hectares (World Bank, 1974: Annex 1). Another source states that during 1964-74, land cleared from forest for official settlement was 77,700 hectares but an additional 237,600 hectares of forest area were lost by encroachment (Nepal, National Planning Commission, 1974:10). One source using these diverse estimates concluded that up to 10,000 families (50-60,000 people) were migrating each year and encroaching on an average of 20,000 hectares of forest land (Dixon, 1977:103).

The first inventory of forest resources made in 1963/64 for the tarai and adjacent regions covering 3 million hectares indicated that 51.1 percent of the area was under forest (Table 6). The eleven tarai forest divisions, excluding inner tarai divisions of Dang and Chitawan, had 1.5 million hectares under forest and of this 23,728 hectares were encroached (Nepal, Forest Resources Survey, 1967). The area under forest was distributed as 42.9 percent in the east, 41.4 percent in the west and 15.7 percent in central tarai. Forest land covered 72 percent of the west, 48.8 percent of the central and 40.5 percent of the east in terms of their respective regional areas. In 1974/75, the tarai forest divisions had 1.4 million hectares of forest land (Table 7 A). This indicates a depletion of 156,198 hectares or 10.2 percent since 1963/64. Of the total forest land cleared, 54.4 percent was in the east, 29.4 percent in the west and 16.2 percent in the central tarai.

The 1963/64 forest data based on aerial photographs (scale 1:21,120) were by forest divisions. The Land Resources Mapping Project data based on aerial photographs (scale:50,000) provide another set of estimate on tarai forest by administrative districts (Kenting Earth Sciences, 1986b). Although the aerial extent of the two data sources vary by 3.7 percent, comparison of land use proportions by group of districts within each forest division indicates further depletion in forest area. As compared to 51.1 percent of the tarai area under forest in 1963/64, forest area declined to 43.7 percent in 1978/79 (Table 6). During the 15 years interval, forest area declined from 40.5 percent to 28.1 percent in the east and from 72 percent to 67.5 percent in the west. In central tarai, it declined from 48.8 to 44.7 percent. In 1963/64 the east led with 42.9 percent of the tarai forest. By 1978/79, its share had fallen to 32 percent. Nearly half of all tarai forest area left in 1978/79 was in the west.

Table 6: Change in Proportion of Land Use in the Tarai, 1963/64 and 1978/79

Region/Land Use	1963/64 (a)		1978/79 (b)	
	Hectare	%	Hectare	%
<i>West</i>	878,016	100.0	928,004	100.0
1. Forest land	631,800	72.0	626,037	67.5
2. Cropland/Agricultural	112,845	12.8	249,062	26.8
3. Other	133,371	15.2	52,905	5.7
<i>Central</i>	492,006	100.0	518,631	100.0
1. Forest land	240,293	48.8	232,070	44.7
2. Cropland/Agricultural	211,323	43.0	261,903	50.4
3. Other	40,390	8.2	24,658	4.8
<i>East</i>	1,617,452	100.0	1,443,349	100.0
1. Forest land	654,298	40.5	404,883	28.1
2. Cropland	826,028	51.1	927,392	64.3
3. Other	137,126	8.5	111,074	7.7
<i>Total</i>	2,987,474	100.0	2,889,984	100.0
1. Forest land	1,526,391	51.1	1,262,990	43.7
2. Cropland	1,150,196	38.5	1,438,357	49.8
3. Other	310,887	10.4	188,637	6.5

Source: a. Forest Resources Survey, 1967, p. 17

b. Kenting Earth Sciences, 1986, *Economics Report*, Appendix Five

Change in forest area (1963/64-74/75) and their regional proportion (1963/64-1978/79) both show larger extent of deforestation from the west to east. Eastern tarai had the largest magnitude of population increase and greatest loss in forest land. Additional persons per hectare of forest land lost was 8.6 in the east, 8.4 in the central and 2.5 in the west. On the other hand, additional migrants per hectare of forest cleared was the same in all regions. The tarai experienced 38.2 percent increase in population and 275.2 percent increase in net migration during 1961-71 (Table 7 B) as compared to

Table 7: Depletion in Forest Land and Population Increase in the Tarai*A. Depletion in Forest Land, 1963/64-1974/75*

Region	1963/64(a)		1974/75(b)		Decrease	
	Hectare	%	Hectare	%	Hectare	%
West	631,800	41.4	585,923	42.8	45,877	7.3
Central	240,293	15.7	214,936	15.7	25,357	10.6
East	654,298	42.9	569,334	41.5	84,964	13.0
Total	1,526,391	100.0	1,370,193	100.0	156,198	10.2

Source: a. Forest Resources Survey, 1967, p. 17
 b. Forest Dept. Land Use Survey, 1974/75. Cited in ADB
 HMG, 1982, Vol. II, Appendix 2.26.

B. Population Increase, 1961-71

	1961		1971		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Population	2,903,014	100.0	4,012,385	100.0	1,109,371	38.2
West	271,551	9.4	438,041	10.9	116,490	61.3
Central	418,181	14.4	632,401	15.8	214,220	51.2
East	2,213,282	76.2	2,941,943	73.3	728,661	32.9
Net Migration	106,587	100.0	399,925	100.0	293,338	275.2
West	7,317	6.9	69,146	17.3	61,829	845.0
Central	31,088	29.2	155,247	38.8	124,159	399.4
East	68,182	63.9	175,532	43.9	107,350	157.4

10.2 percent decrease in forest land during 1963/64-74/75. Roughly speaking, depletion of one hectare of forest land meant an increase of 1.9 persons in net migration. Assuming the ratio between forest depletion and migration increase to be constant, an increase of 293,338 in net migration during 1971-81 would mean deforestation of 154,388 hectares during the same period.

The depletion in forest area was associated with expansion of cultivated area. During 1963/64-1978/79, the proportion of cropland in the tarai increased from 38.5 percent to 49.8 percent (Table 6). In 1963/64, the tarai forest divisions included 1,150,196 hectares of cultivated land. The percentage of such land was 51.1 in the east, 43.0 in the central and 12.8 in the west. By 1978/79, the proportion of cultivated land increased in all regions, particularly in the west, from 12.8 percent to 26.8 percent of its regional area. It increased from 43 percent to 50.4 percent in the central and from 51.1 percent to 64.3 percent in eastern tarai.

The series of data on the estimate of area under various crops provide another evidence of expansion in cultivated area. It is to be noted, however, that the cultivated area and cropped area vary due to double and multiple-cropping³. During the decade 1970/71-80/81, Nepal's total area under various crops is estimated to have increased by 14.6 percent. (Nepal, FAM, 1972, and 1983). Of this increase, 236,600 hectares or 74.8 percent was registered in the lowlands. The tarai had 14.3 percent and inner tarai 25.1 percent increase in cropland (Table 8). Eastern tarai registered 13 percent decrease in forest land during 1963/64-1974/75 and cropland increase of same percent during 1970/71-1980/81. In central tarai the percent of increase in cropland was twice that of percent of depletion in forest land.

During the decade 1970/71-1980/81, the lowlands had 236,220 hectares or 16 percent increase in cropland as against population increase of 2,532,593 or 51.5 percent (Table 8). It meant an increase of 11 persons for each additional cropped hectare. Population increase vis-a-vis cropland increase was high in western tarai (16 persons/hectare) and low in central tarai (7 persons/hectare). The total volume of net migration to the tarai recorded in 1981 census was 686,178. It meant an increase of 3.8 more migrants on each additional hectare of land. In other words, the tarai regions being the prime destination of most migrants experienced rapid change in land use, and the process was basically one of the converting forest and other land use categories into cropland.

D. Making of a Dynamic Region

Nepal has been experiencing large-scale redistribution of population through spontaneous migration. Two-third of inter-regional migrants and most immigrants were directed to the lowlands that contributed to a rapid population growth of 2.5 times in less than three decades. Despite dominance of rural-to-rural migration, urban growth was also high. The average annual rate of urban population growth in lowlands was 7.8 percent as compared to 3.5 percent in the highlands. Overall, the lowlands had an average annual growth rate twice that of the highlands.

Table 8: Change in Area Under Crops and Population Increase in Inner Tarai and Tarai, 1971-1981

	1970/71		1980/81		Change		Population Increase 1971-81	
	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	Person	%
	Hac.		Hac.		Hac.			
<i>Inner Tarai</i>	232080	15.7	290220	16.9	58140	25.1	370197	40.7
West	75900	5.1	120230	7.0	44330	58.4	141292	48.5
Central	107600	7.1	111870	6.5	4270	4.0	149675	42.4
East	48580	3.3	58112	3.4	9540	19.6	79230	30.0
<i>Tarai</i>	1245360	84.3	1423840	83.1	178480	14.3	2018479	50.3
West	199800	13.5	223690	13.1	23890	12.0	293202	89.8
Central	236250	16.0	285620	16.7	49370	20.9	325568	51.5
East	809310	54.8	914060	53.4	105220	13.0	1299709	44.2
Total	1477440	100.0	1714060	100.0	236620	16.0	2532593	51.5

Source: Nepal, Food and Agriculture Ministry, 1983:97-246

Levels of development by geographic regions show higher values for the lowland regions (Table 9). In economic development (agriculture, industry, transport, banking), the tarai led all other elevation zones. Among geographic regions, Kathmandu ranked first and central inner tarai second. Most lowland regions except eastern tarai had a higher economic development level than the highland regions except Kathmandu Valley. In socio-cultural (education, health, communication) development) also, the tarai and inner tarai ranked higher than the hill and mountain elevation zones. Kathmandu Valley ranked highest in socio-cultural development. Eastern and central tarai, and central hill came next. Western mountain and hill had very low levels of socio-cultural development.

All three tarai regions and central tarai ranked high in the level of regional development. Of the 18 tarai districts, 17 had regional development values higher than the national level average (Shrestha and Sharma, 1980: 140-145). In inner tarai, 3 districts were above and 3 below the national level. In the hill, 10 districts have higher and 23 lower values. Of the 15 mountain districts, only 2 had values higher than the national level. Thus, 20 out of 24 lowland districts had levels of development higher than the country's average level. The aggregate values of development level for the tarai and inner tarai were much higher than those of mountain and the hill. Kathmandu

Valley appeared as an island of high-level development in the backward highland area. In macro regional terms, one might state that higher the elevation of a geographic region, lower the level of regional development.

Development indicators of recent years and available into 15 divisions comparable to the census regions also show the comparative advantage of the tarai regions. For example, in terms of road length as ratio of the regional area, the tarai leads with 11.0 followed by the hill with 22.9 while the road length/area ratio for the mountain is 245.8 (Nepal, National Planning Commission, 1987:22-23). Three mountain regions (midwest, west and east) have no road (Table 10). All five tarai regions rank high in road length/area ratio. An exception to hill backwardness in road facility is the central hill (including Kathmandu Valley) that ranks second. Physical quality of life index (calculated on the basis of average life expectancy at birth, infant mortality and literacy rate), also places three tarai regions on the top followed by two hill regions. Far west and mid west regions in the mountain and hill rank very low in physical quality of life index (Nepal, NPC, op.cit. 32-34). Of the total development expenditure of Rs. 3.297 million during fiscal year 1985/86, the hill claimed 59.8 percent as against 33.9 percent for the tarai and 6.2 percent for the mountain (Nepal, NPC, op.cit: 14-15). Central hill (including the capital region) ranked first in development expenditure followed by central tarai. But most tarai regions were higher placed than other hill and mountain regions except western hill (Table 10). The five mountain regions ranked very low in development expenditure.

The total estimated GDP was valued at Rs. 4,174 at the 1984/85 current prices and of this 56.5 percent was contributed by the tarai regions. The share of hill regions was 39.2 percent and that of mountain regions only 4.3 percent (Nepal, NPC, 1987: 11-12). Central tarai ranked first and central hill second. Eastern and western tarai ranked third and fourth in GDP contribution. The level of development based on 25 variables placed the central hill (including the capital region) in the first rank. The next four places were taken by tarai regions (Nepal, NPC, op. cit: 35-39). The last four in the level of development were mountain regions (Table 10). As a general pattern, the tarai regions had a comparatively higher level of development except the central hill that includes the capital region.

The lowlands with concentration of infrastructural and production factors has emerged as a dominant region of demographic and economic transformation. Once a region associated with large estates of absentee landlords, increasing numbers of landless households encroaching and squatting on forest and common land have generated political tension (Kaplan and Shrestha, 1982). The problem of squatters, a new expression of increasing poverty and economic inequality, is basically the outcome of the increasing migration from the resource poor highlands. Interregional migrants are directed to the lowlands with land

Table 9: Levels of Development by Geographic Regions, 1977

	Economic		Socio-Cultural		Regional	
	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
<i>Mountain</i>	362.9	D	552.6	D	915.5	D
1. West	247.6	13	467.1	13	714.8	12
2. Central	458.3	11	707.2	7	1,165.3	10
3. East	521.8	9	607.8	11	1,129.5	11
<i>Hill</i>	568.0	C	704.3	C	1,272.3	C
4. West	368.8	12	497.3	12	865.6	13
5. Central	683.0	7	818.9	4	1,502.1	6
6. Kathmandu Valley	1,154.7		1,172.7		2,327.5	
7. East	618.0	8	762.3	5	1,380.3	8
<i>Inner Tarai</i>	781.3	1	733.8	1	1,515.1	1
8. West	776.3	6	643.0	10	1,419.3	7
9. Central	1,065.3	2	863.0	3	1,928.3	2
10. East	502.3	10	695.5	8	1,197.8	9
<i>Tarai</i>	1,010.3	A	803.3	A	1,812.9	A
11. West	948.6	5	718.8	6	1,666.5	5
12. Central	1,038.5	3	685.7	9	1,724.2	4
13. East	1,025.1	4	866.2	2	1,890.4	3

Source: Shrestha and Sharma, 1980: 140-145.

available for agricultural settlement. The lowlands, particularly the tarai, is also the prime destination of immigrants. Unlike internal migrants, the immigrants are moving to lowland areas that were settled earlier and to urban areas. The dynamism of the lowlands economy has attracted immigrants and many of them intend to stay permanently (Nepal, Task Force on Migration, 1983). With few a exception tarai districts with high percent of foreign born and foreign citizens have a comparatively low percent of internal migrants. Thus, inter-regional migrants and immigrants are moving into different ecological niches: the former to frontier lands and the latter to settled areas and generally in secondary and tertiary occupations.

Table 10: Rank Order of Census Regions by Selected Indicators

Region	Road Mileage 1985	Physical Quality of Life	Development Expenditure 1985/86	Estimated GDP 1984/85	Level of Development Based on 25 Variables)
<i>Mountain</i>					
1.Far West	12	14	12	13	14
2.Mid West	-	15	14	14	15
3.West	-	11	15	15	9
4.Central	10	10	11	12	13
5.East	-	9	13	11	12
<i>Hill</i>					
6.Far West	9	12	10	10	10
7.Mid West	11	13	8	9	11
8.West	7	7	3	5	6
9.Central a	2	5	1	2	1
10.East	8	4	7	7	8
<i>Tarai</i>					
11.Far West	6	6	9	8	7
12.Mid West	5	8	6	6	5
13.West	3	2	5	4	3
14.Central	4	3	2	1	4
15.East	1	1	4	3	2

a : Including Kathmandu Valley

Source : National Planning Commission, 1987.

The traditional Nepalese term for the inner tarai and the tarai lowlands is 'madhesh' as a geographical extension of the 'madhyadesha' (heartland) referring to the Gangetic plain. Prevalence of endemic malaria until the late 1950's however, made it a peripheral region. Large-scale migration and development activities in the last three decades have since transformed its locational situation. Recent demographic and economic processes have all the potentials of transforming the lowlands into a dynamic region.

II. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

a. Pattern and Determinant

Nepal has been experiencing rapid population growth in recent decades. In less than three decades (1952/54-81), the total population increased from 8.5 to 15 million. Projections of population for 2,001 range from 21 to 26 million under low and high variants respectively or an increase of 1.4 to 1.7 times in another two decades (Nepal. Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986b). Another significant feature is the increasing magnitude of population redistribution through migration. During the period 1952/54-81, the increase in total population was 1.8 times as against 2.7 times increase in absentee population (reported away from home for six months or more). Increase in number of such absentees was ten times for those inside the country compared to two times for those outside the country, indicating increasing internal mobility. The last two decades (1961-81) recorded about 6.7 times increase in out-migrants from the highlands and about 5.6 times increase in in-migrants to the lowlands. The principal migration trajectory was from the hills to contiguous tarai regions. Given the fertility, mortality and migration trend of the last intercensal (1971-81) period, the total population of the tarai is projected to exceed 10 (low variant) to 13 (high variant) million by 2,001 from the present 6.6 million (Nepal, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1986 b: Table 50). This increment needs to be directed in a planned manner.

The principal reason for out-migration, particularly from the hills, has been increasing pressure of population on limited land resources. Considering the sizable volume of emigration in the last century, population pressure in the Nepal hills does not seem to be a new phenomenon. In the past, despite state inducements to settle in the lowlands, out-migration was primarily directed outside the country to new frontier lands in Eastern Himalaya and for service in India. Since the late 1950's, however, there has been a major shift as to the migrant destination. The increase in number of absentees abroad during 1952/54-61 was 65.8 percent. In the following two decades, 1961-81, it increased only by 22.7 percent. Absentees abroad as percent of the total absentees declined from 84.9 in 1961 to 68.2 in 1981. That only 3.5 percent of the total absentees abroad were for agricultural reason is indicative of the limited scope of land colonisation outside the country.

The main reason for the shift of migratory trajectory with the tarai and inner tarai as new destinations was the control of malaria that led to the transformation of the lowlands from one of marginality to a viable settlement area. The opening of the lowlands through malaria eradication and resettlement programs since mid-1950's provided a new frontier for large-scale rural-to-rural migration within the country. To the increasing number of land-hungry peasants from the

over-populated highlands, the virgin forest and grassland of the lowlands became a new resource for conversion to farmland. That most inter-regional migrants as well as immigrants to the lowlands moved for agricultural reason is a clear evidence of land availability as the primary motive for internal migration. In addition, concentration of infrastructural and other developmental activities in the lowlands provided new opportunities for further in-migration.

The lowlands has now emerged as the area of migrant convergence from both within and outside the country. The impelling forces have, however, a subtle distinction. The influx of internal migrants to the tarai and inner tarai is basically a man-resource adjustment with cultivated land as the resource base. On the other hand, immigration represents both a population movement from high to low density area and new economic opportunities across the open border. Established migration streams of internal migration as well as immigrants to the lowlands indicate further increases in their number with much implication on demographic, developmental and political aspects of the country.

b. Population Redistribution

Economic development plans even without spatial consideration may induce population distribution with major consequences. This is what happened in the case of Nepal. The earlier periodic plans had no explicit policies on regional development pattern and population redistribution. However, the initiation of development planning in Nepal in 1956 coincided with the opening of the central inner tarai for resettlement with malaria control. The main objective of the programme was rehabilitation of hill population adversely affected by natural disasters. This was followed by extension of malaria eradication and resettlement programmes to cover other lowland areas in the subsequent plans for agricultural development through cropland expansion. This led to expansion of cultivated area at the cost of forest land and also resulted in sizable redistribution of population.

A more comprehensive population policy was first formulated in the Fifth Plan (1975-80). Of the five stated policy instruments, one dealt with fertility control and the remaining four were with regard to population redistribution (Nepal, National Planning Commission, 1975:42). The measures related to the latter were regulation of internal migration, population shift to the low density tarai (particularly to western tarai), deliberate urbanisation in backward regions, and immigration control. However, the plan did not include any concrete programmes to support these policies except in resettlement. Even in the case of the resettlement programme, targets set were modest compared to the large magnitude of spontaneous migrants that overwhelmed government efforts. And, achievement in land settled was 42 percent and families resettled was 61.8 percent of the target.

The Sixth Plan (1980-85) included seven policy measures with reference to population but only one of these dealt with redistribution (Nepal, National Commission on Population, 1980:716). It referred to regulation of internal migration and development of small towns but there was lack of implementation programmes. Despite increasing illegal encroachment in lowland forests, targets for resettlement were considerably reduced and the achievement in land settled was 62.2 percent and families resettled 82.2 percent. Subsequently, a national population strategy with five major thrusts were formulated of which four related to mechanisms of fertility control, and one to immigration control (Nepal, National Commission on Population, 1983:4). The references to 'initiate comprehensive and planned migration and urbanisation process' as policy measures (ibid:52) were not supported with specific programmes.

The current Seventh Plan (1985-90) also evidences the traditional pattern of adopting policy goals that are currently fashionable (Fuchs, 1983:22). The plan has adopted the five major strategic thrusts announced by the National Commission on Population as the basic population policy with no consideration to spatial distribution of population (Nepal, National Planning Commission, 1985:153). Furthermore, the plan has no provision for land-based settlement and the rationale given for this new policy is conservation of existing forest areas to maintain ecological balance (ibid: 488-489). Thus, extant policies on population in Nepal emphasise fertility control and neglect the distribution aspect. Even in the case where there has been policy pronouncement regarding population redistribution (as in the fifth plan), there has been a singular lack of concrete programmes and instruments. A comprehensive population policy need to encompass migration along with fertility and mortality aspects. In a country with immense regional diversity (both natural and developmental), population redistribution through migration has even more relevance.

c. Spatial Development

Population redistribution programmes are often subsidiary component of more general spatial programmes dealing with modernisation and economic development (UN, 1981). Thus, the goals of development strategy in a country ultimately determine the spatial distribution of the population and changes in that distribution (Simmons, 1983:30). In the case of Nepal, the first exercise to visualise national development in spatial dimension was made in the Fourth Plan, 1970-75 (Nepal, National Planning Commission, 1970: Appendix ii). It proposed concentration of development activities along four north-south growth axes with roads in order to integrate the economies of the highlands and lowlands (Gurung, 1969 and 1984). However, the various sectoral programmes included in the plan were not tied to such a spatial development scheme.

Subsequent periodic plans (Nepal. National Planning Commission, 1975:28-33, 1980:182-192 and 1985:229-237) all included policy statements on regional development. These may be listed as specialisation according to elevation zone (cereal production in the tarai, horticulture in the hill and livestock raising in the mountain), development intensification along major roads, development of growth and service centres, and integrated rural development. But as in the case of population policy, regional development policies within national development plans were not integrated with programmes and projects. Thus, with the exception of integrated rural development projects (IRDP), based on external assistance, there were no specific implementation programmes to support the policies adopted. The process of resource allocation persisted along the traditional activity sectors (agriculture and forest, transport and communication, industry and power, and social services) despite the policy goal of reducing disparity among the regions.

The increasing volume of out-migration from the highlands is indicative of the continuing morbidity of the highland economy despite three decades of development effort. Integrated rural development projects (covering 18 highland and 5 lowland districts) were designed to provide coordinated provision of infrastructure and service in rural areas and reduce rural-to-urban migration. The available document on IRD projects (Pradhan, 1985), however, is a only comparative progress review of programmes rather than impact evaluation. Even in the case of specific IRD project for which some data are available, the rate of net migration was unaffected (Banskota, 1984:118-120).

Spatial planning is a long-term strategy and closely linked with infrastructure development. In Nepal, the pattern of arterial routes has changed considerably over the last two decades. The series of north-south roads has now been superseded by the east-west highway, Mahendra Rajmarg. In spatial planning terms, the east-west highway would be the logical spine of national development with the connecting north-south roads as its lateral extension. Concentration of development activities along the east-west highway will also partly resolve the conflict in resource allocation between the hill and the tarai regions. Since the highway traverses parts of the tarai and inner tarai with low density of population and some extensive forest land, the convergence of population from the highlands and lowlands there through planned migration would contribute to economic and social integration.

The recognition of the east-west highway as the pivotal axis of national development will also entail reconsideration on other policy areas such as land use, resettlement and urbanisation. The forests in the lowlands have a bleak future because of its increasing accessibility and immense population pressure evidenced by large-scale encroachment (Kaplan and Shrestha, 1982). Conservation of forest for

environmental purposes would be more meaningful in the highlands with erosion-prone steep slopes than the lowlands. Therefore, lowland forest areas with agricultural potential need to be resettled in order to affect optimum utilization of the limited land resource. Such a land use policy would yield considerable land area for resettlement and agricultural expansion, particularly in western tarai. Again, selected points where the east-west highway intersects with north-south roads would be the most appropriate site for urban development. Location of administrative, commercial and industrial activities at such major road junctions would both maximise benefits from the large infrastructure investment already made and create new employment opportunities.

d. Political Aspect

Internal migration is indicative of regional economic disparity and if properly channelised, it can be an effective mechanism for adjusting population and resources as well as affect national integration. In contrast, international migration involving unrestricted emigration and immigration, as in the case of Nepal, can be detrimental to national interest.⁴ While emigration weakens the State's leverage for an independent policy option on immigration control, large-scale immigration, on the other hand, make existing protectionist policies in labour and employment sectors ineffective.

The tarai, the prime destination of immigrants, has been an area of controversy over citizenship (Gaige, 1975:82-107). There has been increasing pressure for citizenship in recent years. Of the total 1.5 million citizenship certificates distributed during 1972-82, the tarai districts claimed 63.2 percent.⁵ In terms of the total population of 1981, those receiving citizenship certificate were 10 percent. In terms of the 1981 population by regions, those receiving citizenship certificate for the tarai was a 15.7 percent, and for the hill and mountain 5.5 percent each. It is significant that 94.4 percent of those acquiring Nepalese citizenship in the tarai was on the basis of descent. A survey of 5,651 households in 10 tarai districts indicated that of the total sampled household heads, 6.9 percent were immigrants (Nepal, Task Force on Migration, 1983). Of all immigrant household heads, 94.3 percent were from India and of these 42.3 percent had acquired Nepalese citizenship.

Another dimension to the politics of citizenship is the deteriorating situation of emigrants from Nepal to India. The armed conflict for 'Gorkha land' in the hill areas (Darjeeling and Kalimpong) of West Bengal since 1986 and recent wholesale expulsion of settlers of Nepalese origin from Assam and Meghalaya have generated a stream of return migrants into Nepal. The recent events in north-east India also prove that nativist policies that are weak in immigration control but restrictive in naturalisation have all the making of a larger

socio-political conflict. The main contributory factor to the problem of Indo-Nepal migration is the unrestricted entry and exit rules between the two countries. Illegal trade associated with free movement of people across the border has been a matter of concern for both countries. Similarly, policies and programmes for the resolution of Nepal's population problem and planning of population redistribution will have limited impact until the Indo-Nepal border is regulated in terms of human movement.

NOTES

1. This paper is part of a monograph, *Regional Patterns of Migration in Nepal*, prepared as Visiting Fellow at the East-West Population Center, Honolulu, during summer 1984.
2. Dependency ratio is defined as the ratio of children under 15 years of age plus person aged 60 years and above to population 15-59 years of age X 100. That is,

$$DR = \frac{0-14 + 60+}{15-59} \times 100$$

Where, DR = The Dependency Ratio

0-14 = Children Under 15 years of age

60+ = Persons aged 60 years and above

15-59 = Persons aged 15-59 years.

3. For example, during 1980/81, the tarai had 1,401,426 hectares as cultivated area (Nepal, CBS, 1985:19) and 1,570,800 hectares under various crops (Nepal, FAM, 1983) thus yielding an excess of 14 percent in gross cropped area to area under crops.
4. Nepal had a net surplus of immigrants in the two censuses for which data and estimates are available:

	Census Years		Increase	
	1961	1981	Absolute	Percent
A. Emigrants (Absentee abroad)	328,470	402,977	74,507	22.7
B. Immigrants (Foreign Born)	337,620	441,596* 234,039+	103,976	30.8
Excess of B over A	9,150	38,619	29,469	322.1

* Estimate, Nepal, CBS, 1985b, 125-127

+ Reported, Nepal, CBS, 1984, Vol. I, Part II, Table 8.

5. Records of the Home Ministry, Nepal Government, provide the following breakdown of citizenship distribution in 69 out of 75 districts:

Region	By Descent	By Birth and Marriage	Total	Percent
Mountain	59,327	357	59,684	4.0
Hill	350,129	10,869	366,998	24.4
Inner Tarai	130,232	2,664	132,896	8.8
Tarai	896,272	53,467	949,739	63.2
Total	1,435,960	67,357	1,503,317	100.0

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Political Organization and the Changing Role of Leadership: A Study of the Athapahariya Community

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I. Introduction

Whether it is a 'state' or 'stateless' society (Fortes and Evans Pritchard 1940) or a "minimal" or "diffused government", (Mair 1965), there exists some form of political organization in every society. This organization carries out the functions of social control. Radcliffe Brown (1940) does not find it necessary to differentiate between the social and political control and identifies politics as the function of society. But who controls whom, who is a leader, who are his followers, and how a leader assumes a position of control over others are crucial in the understanding of any political system. In the study of a political system of a group or society, the first thing that singles itself out is "authority" or "leadership."

Ethnographic evidence in many simple or peasant societies suggests some important bases for leadership: wealth, the position of a person in a ranked system of society with an extensive kinship network, and contacts with a bureaucracy (See Mayer 1967). In many African societies, such as the Bantu, Yoruba, Zulu, Bemba, Tallensi and Nuer—which range from highly organized to a purely kinship-based system—there are leaders or chiefs who belong to a particular segmentary lineage or minimal lineage with access to resources (land, cattle). Members of the respective groups accept their authority to make communal decisions (Fortes and Evans Pritchard 1940). Discussing the two contrasted types of leadership (characterized as "big man" and "chief") in Melanesia and Polynesia, Sahlins (1958) shows that the authority of Melanesian "big man" rests on personal power based on loyal following whereas the Polynesian "chief" is installed in an inherently powerful office by his position in a ranked system of lineages. Barth (1959) shows that the leadership role in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan is assumed by those Yusufzi Pakthuns—a patrilineal descent group, who has control over land, a scarce resource in the area. Through the control of this scarce resource, a Pakthun leader attracts his clients and inflates his political ego. In a peasant village, Gobindpur (India), described by Nicholas (1965), the leadership role has always been assumed by the members of the Mashiya caste who holds more than 66% of the total land of the area. Caplan (1967) argues that the traditional leadership role

of the Limbus in Eastern Nepal collapsed when there were shifts in land policies over time carried out by the State. The political status of the Limbus was based on their rights over land.

This paper makes an attempt to analyse the role of changing leadership of a group, called Athpahariya Rais of Dhankuta District in Eastern Nepal. The discussion is centered on the powers assigned to the leader which allow him to control others in the group (Dewey 1975). Attempts are also made to show that though the structure of the larger national political system has changed over time, the traditional form of leadership and authority has remained safely intact and the "new" leaders are the same old people who held power in the former traditional systems. It is argued that wealth, extensive kinship network, and contacts with a bureaucracy were the important bases exploited to hold the traditional leadership, and that these bases are equally important even today. Finally, it is noted that the traditional political system and leadership may change in the future, if the existing local resources, particularly land ownership dwindles further. Furthermore, rapid population growth and outside contacts of people in the area may produce further variations in the political system and traditional leadership role of the Athpahariya Rais. To simplify arguments, the factors associated with changes in leadership in different periods are isolated and their relative importance in each period examined.

II. The Socio-Political Structure of the Athpahariyas

The Athpahariya Rais live in the Dhankuta District of Eastern Nepal. They are one of the groups of Rais, that number about 4,000 and with a distinct language and culture of their own. They marry exclusively within the group, and many people know one another either by marriage or descent. Most of the adults were illiterate in 1974 when I was in the field and their educational status was almost the same when I revisited the area in 1984. Before the opening of the Dharan-Dhankuta highway, they had little contact with people outside the small areas they inhabited. There was little specialization of work and seldom any machinery. The economy was based principally on agriculture, animal husbandry, petty trade and labour (Dahal 1985).

The Athpahariya Rais can be called a distinct political community; one observes among them a developed political structure and a complex and elaborate system of leadership. Following David Easton, a political community refers to:

...the aggregate of people who identify each other as a group and who are prepared to regulate their differences by means of a decision accepted as binding because they are made in accordance with shared political norms and structures (1959:229).

When the socio-historical situations of Athpahariyas are analysed, their socio-political organizations are found to have been centred upon three periods with different patterns of leadership. In each period, they identified themselves as a group, recognized a common territory of their own and shared the political norms and structures as binding with each other. The first may be called the "independent period", the period before they were merged into Nepal in 1774. During this period, they claim, they had their own territory and the socio-political structure was organized through a kinship network and a Chief *Chilinge Subba*. This Chief had defined territorial, judicial and administrative functions. The second may be called the post-unification period, (after 1774), when they were a part of the Nepalese kingdom, but were ruled by two different chiefs: the *Chilinge Subba* of their own and a *Subba* appointed by the government of Nepal. The third may be demarcated as the post-1962 panchayat period, when they were fully integrated into the central polity, but emulated their power and prestige as "leaders" within the panchayat framework.

In considering resources, land is the principal form of wealth, and it has played a key role to keep the Athpahariyas' socio-political structure institutionalized. The pattern of land holding which existed traditionally among the Athpahariyas was the *Kipat* system. *Kipat* itself carries a political meaning, indicating an ethnic group occupying a particular territory for a long time. When the small petty kingdoms were merged into Nepal by King Prithvinarayan Shah in 1768, *Kipat* holdings were subsequently renewed by him and other Shah rulers till 1968, when it was finally abolished. An Athpahariya Rai obtained rights of ownership to *Kipat* land by virtue of his membership to a clan group, especially in the localized clan group. Each clan group, consisting of 12 clans in all, had occupied its own separate *Kipat* land. Historically, land was distributed by the Athpahariyas themselves according to the total members in a particular clan. Because population growth was slow, and there was little contact with the outside community, *Kipat* land was not a scarce resource and was not a prominent cause of social conflict among the Athpahariyas two to three decades ago. *Kipat* was a corporate resource; it was also one of the foundations of wealth as well as power, and it symbolized a physical expression of a political unit to the Athpahariyas. Over time, the *Kipat* holding gradually declined because of the increase in population and also because the area was intruded upon by many migrant Hindu caste communities. In spite of this, Athpahariyas maintained themselves as a distinct political community, having their own leaders in every transitional period.

III. Leadership Among the Athpahariya Rais: The Post-Unification Period

As there is little written information available for the construction of leadership in the "independent period", this paper primarily focuses on the form of leadership that existed among the Athpahariyas in the post-unification period.

Since 1774 to 1962, a duality of leadership and two bases of authority constantly operated in the power structure of the Athpahariyas. Both these bases of leadership are commonly referred to as *Subba* (chief, headman) in local terminology. One of the *Subbas* was the "traditional *Subba*" (Village Headman) approved by the Athpahariya society whereas the other *Subba* was one appointed by the government of Nepal. Each *Subba* had clearly defined territorial, judicial and administrative functions. Both can be considered to be formal leaders in the context of the Athpahariyas.

The traditional *Subba* belonged to the member of the Chilinge clan. How the people of the Chilinge clan assumed leadership is not known among the Athpahariyas themselves. All male members of the Chilinge clan were known as *Subbas*, but the leadership role and power was always vested in the senior adult male of the clan. In the absence of the senior adult male, the role was exercised by his nominee who was always a male member of the Chilinge clan. The post of a traditional *Subba* was always inherited from the father by the eldest son.

The traditional *Subba* played a major role in the socio-religious life of the Athpahariyas. He was indispensable for carrying out ritual activities or purificatory ceremonies. He had the power to induct non-Athpahariyas (from those caste members from whom water can be accepted) into the fold and could also give a new clan name to this inducted member. Further, in every ritual and religious activity the *Subba* had to witness the function and accordingly had to announce his presence and thus validate it. At the time of a big festival e.g. *Mansire*, the first drum dance and song sequence had to begin with and from the house of this *Subba*. His position as a leader basically depended on his ritual status. His popularity was associated with the wealth, harmony and prosperity of the population and the lack of these positive elements was conceived to be due to the *Subba's* ritual failure. There was no overlap of interests or conflict between the leader and the follower, because the goal of the group was consolidated with the ritual purity of the *Subba*. The power hierarchy, however, was almost vertical. Few questioned his ritual superiority as they were morally obliged to follow him and there were not outside threats against his position as *Subba*. Briefly, the role of the traditional *Subba* among the Athpahariyas suggests that:

- (i) Authority is achieved rather than ascribed. A person becomes leader in a ranked system of society which demands no skills, knowledge or wealth for achieving the position;
- (ii) Power or authority is culturally sanctioned; if politics is defined as the struggle for power, there is no struggle for achieving the position and it is the *Subba* who prescribes the culturally accepted roles for the people.
- (iii) The traditional *Subba* is paid in every ceremony/ritual as his customary royalty. So the *Subba* and members of his family always held a better socio-economic position within the society.

The "other" *Subba* was appointed directly by the government of Nepal. A *Kipat* holder converting 60 *muris* of *Kipat khet* land (one *muri* of land occupies an area of 1,369 square feet) into *raikar* and paying a fee of fifty two rupees to the government, was conferred the position of a *Subba* (See Regmi: 1963). Only a Rai or a Limbu could become a *Subba* since only they had *Kipat* at their disposal. Thus, any person who was rich enough to deposit the sum as stated above could become a *Subba* and along with the title, a *Subba* was also given the *nisan* (sword) *nagara* (drum) and a *lalmohar* (royal decree) in his name.

Once the *Subba* was appointed, he would remain in the post until his death. If he was unable to perform his duties or if he misappropriated the land revenue or other local taxes which he had to collect for the government, the government would collect the sum from his personal property and dismiss him from service. His *nisan* and *nagara*, the symbols of his office, would also be confiscated.

This *Subba* was, in fact, the representative of the state among the *Athpahariyas* and the main channel of state control within the territory. He was responsible for keeping law and order and for slowly introducing Nepalese law into the community. He recruited the porters needed by the administration for the transport of essential food, animals and government properties and he was facilitated to do these jobs by *Pagaris* (there were a total of nine- *Pagaris* in the *Athpaharyas'* area) who were also appointed by the government. It was also customary among the *Athpahariyas* to supply free labour for five days from each family to compensate the *Subba* for his services. As *Subba*, he also had the right to exempt the land revenue of six households in his territory. Petty disputes were negotiated by the *Subba* himself and he could give a final decision regarding the matter. He also had the right to penalize the guilty person concerned in terms of cash or grain which he could utilize for himself. For his services in collecting the land revenue, the *Subba* received a

commission of five rupees on every hundred and five rupees collected on the Kipat land.

While performing his role as *Subba*, he was always assisted by nine *Pagaris* who were, in fact, the representatives of the nine different clans of the Athpahariyas. But only a rich Athpahariya of the particular clan, converting 30 *mato muri* of Kipat khet land into *raikar* and paying a fee of twenty six rupees to the government, was conferred the position of *Pagari*.

The available document from the Treasury Office in Dhankuta shows that the government appointed *Subbas* in the Athpahariyas' territory were Aiswar Singh Rai (1853-1893), Harkalal Rai (1893-1933) and Jarwar Singh Rai (1933-1951). They belonged to the Chilinge, Mangbung and Hombarak clans, respectively. Jarwar Singh Rai was discharged from his post because he misappropriated the land revenue and a Joshi (Newar) of Dhankuta bazaar had taken the official position of *Subba* in his name during the time this study was being carried out. In 1984 also, no Athpahariya Rai was working as *Subba* in the area.

The important question here is which of the two *Subbas* as a leader played a more crucial role in the Athpahariya society. In this context, the potential areas for conflict among the Athpahariyas have to be explored and also how social cohesion and stability are maintained within the group must be taken into account. Among the Athpahariyas, many of the conflicts occur on moral grounds, for example, marriage and death. Sexual crime is considered one of the most serious among the Athpahariyas outside marriage. If somebody breaks the rule, some misfortune like illness, was likely to occur against the guilty, or else a shaman diagnosed it as the cause of family trouble. The accused person had to accept punishment before the family and the village notables. Due to the shame of acknowledging one's own guilt before others, illicit sex was very uncommon. Similarly, there were social rules, (e.g. the violations of life cycle ceremonies/rituals), where one is obliged to pay the penalty to the traditional *Subba*. In general cultural sanctions brought to bear upon by means of popular folk-ways, laws and traditions which channeled behaviour towards the acceptable. In such a situation, the traditional *Subba* was honoured more. The group goal here is to maintain harmony and to keep up the socio-religious traditions.

The power and authority of the *Subba* appointed by the government depended to a great degree, on the loyalty to the King of Nepal. He was not involved with people directly as his role was less socially embedded than that of the traditional *Subba*. So outside certain assigned roles, the state appointed *Subba* did involve himself in the group goal as dictated by the traditional

Subba. However, one might say that the power of the state appointed *Subba* is still vertical but that it is no longer a patron-role which is the apex of the pyramid of power, such as that of the traditional *Subba*, but rather a broken role which mediates between top and bottom.

The Athpahariya case here offers an instance in which two types of leadership exist side by side but perform different functions. The traditional village leader has control over all the socio-religious activities, and the leader appointed by the government has control over minor law and order problems within the territory, collecting land taxes and playing the role of a mediator between the government and the people. The two leaders were never antagonistic towards one another regarding their identical roles and also did not produce two opposed groups, committed to different norms within the community. They rather prepared to regulate their differences by means of a common decision as binding and acceptable to all the members of Athpahariyas. Therefore, the institutionalization of the two opposed types of authority with their respective commitments did not result in institutional instability among the Athpahariyas.

IV. The Panchayat System

After the introduction of the Panchayat system as a new form of government in 1962, the Athpahariya territory was divided into four distinct village panchayats (administrative units)- Chuliban, Bazargaun, Nigale and Bhirgaun. Under this system, village leadership is elective and the designated leaders are - *Pradhan Pancha* (the head of village executive committee), *Upa Pradhan Pancha* (deputy head of village executive committee) and *Ward Chairman* (heads of each of the nine Wards of the village panchayat). Instead of one *Subba* and nine *Pagaris* in the whole territory as in the past, there is now one *Pradhan Pancha* and nine *Ward Chairman* in each of the four Athpahariya panchayats. But who are these *Pradhan Pancha*, *Upa Pradhan Pancha* and *ward chairmen* in the context of the Athpahariyas and how do they achieve these posts?

To answer the question, an extensive fieldwork was carried out in Chuliban Panchayat, one of the traditional habitats of the Athpahariyas in 1974. Seventy percent of the population of the Panchayat consisted of Athpahariyas. Eight of the eleven members of the village executive council were Athpahariyas. Of the eight Athpahariyas, six belonged to the same clan or lineage that held the post of *Subba/Pagari* in the past. The *Pradhan Pancha* and *Upa Pradhan Pancha* were members of the particular households of the *Lenguwa* and *Charingme* clans whose fathers and grandfathers were the *Pagaris* in their respective areas. Similarly, the *ward chairmen* belonged to *Hombarak*, *Mangbung*, and *Chilinge* clans whose forefathers held *Subba/Pagari* posts during the earlier post-unification period.

The Athpahariyas in the positions of leadership were fairly wealthy. The *Pradhan Pancha* had control over a large tract of good quality land (more than 100 *ropanis* registered under the ownership of various members of the family). Similarly, ward chairmen were economically better off for they, on the average, had more than 60 *ropanis* of land whereas the average family land holding among the Athpahariyas was only 42 *ropanis*. In other words, wealth played a vital role in becoming a *Subba* or *Pagari* in the past and is still a crucial factor in holding leadership within the panchayat system. It is not that a person pays voters to become a *Pradhan Pancha* or a ward chairman, for in an elective system, a potential leader can also attract followers when he has a large share of land and contact with the bureaucracy. This demands wealth also. The members of the old Chilinge *Subba*, the *Pagari* and the government appointed *Subba* who have had the largest land holdings in the village area, still maintain good contacts with the central bureaucracy and are thus able to retain their positions as leaders in their villages. In addition, social factors like blood ties, kinship etc. also play vital roles in leadership in the village. This was evident during elections for the post of *Pradhan Pancha* in Chuliban Panchayat in 1970 and 1974.

In 1970, a Newar resident of the same village panchayat with a large land holding, contested elections against an Athpahariya. However, the Newar candidate was badly defeated because, except for a few Athpahariyas, all the others supported the Athpahariya candidate. Here blood ties, marriage alliance, kinship role and the "ethnic sense" of a group played a significant role in defeating the Newar candidate. Another interesting election also took place for the post of *Pradhan Pancha* in this village panchayat in 1974 when two Athpahariyas both belonging to the *Subba* group contested for the same post.

One of the candidates, the incumbent *Pradhan Pancha* ran against a 74 old Athpahariya who was a ward chairman but one who had never become *Pradhan Pancha*. The old man was a retired army officer and a respected member of the community. He did not want to contest the elections but was forced into it by his nephew, an army man. The nephew who strongly disagreed with the policies of the incumbent *Pradhan Pancha* did not have the courage to challenge him personally in the election. So he pushed his uncle (father's elder brother) into the election. If his uncle won, he would naturally be in a position to manipulate the village panchayat politics. He therefore, saw himself as the "power behind the throne." He was supported by his clan members, a few obliged Athpahariyas and by some members of other caste groups. No doubt, the nephew was a factional leader in the village because of his wealth and oratory abilities and used all possible means to assure his uncle's position.

The other candidate who was supported by the Newars had a Newar as his *Upa Pradhan Pancha* candidate and all the Newars (who formed about 13 percent of the population of the panchayat) were motivated in supporting him. He was also supported by Athpahariyas, and by some other ethnic groups like the blacksmiths, cobblers etc. because they thought that this candidate would be less communal than the old man. The old man was badly beaten in the election receiving only 17 percent of the total votes. Similarly, the Newar candidate easily won the seat for *Upa Pradhan Pancha* not because he was popular among the Athpahariyas but because of his strategic alliances with the *Pradhan Pancha*, who had a large number of followers in the panchayat area.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this.

- (i) That in the new structure also, authority is achieved rather than fully ascribed. In addition to the extensive kinship network, wealth, the position of a person in a ranked system of society and contacts with a bureaucracy are still the essential inputs for a continuum of leadership. However, an aspirant for the post of *Pradhan Pancha* would have to be more politically active to achieve the post than in the case of a former traditional *Subba* (whether it is the Chillinge or the government appointed *Subba*). Furthermore, today, a successful leader is a person who stresses not only the group values but also seeks the cooperation and friendship from others. A leader must acknowledge and espouse the ideal of equivalence.
- (ii) There is a manifest tension within the group for changing leadership. This is because the areas of natural resources, particularly land, have become marginal and unevenly distributed. The population growth rate of more than two percent per annum over the past two decades² along with the intrusion of many migrant Hindu population in the area not only helped to increase outside contacts but also proportionately decreased the land holding of people, thus leading to a considerable tension within the community. Ethnicism has already developed among various groups and this tension is inevitably leading the community towards a process of social change; today, the people project out of one structure to another.

V. Conclusion

The Athpahariya Rais provide a clear example of the role of leadership gradually passing over to the same group of people even in a changing political situation. Similarly, the combination of wealth, the position of a person in a ranked system of society

with an extensive kin network, and contact with a bureaucracy resulted in producing successful leaders among the Athpahariyas at every period. However, one also notes that when authority is more decentralized in a changing political system, the leadership role demands more of a coalition politics—for elections as well as for holding the eleven member executive committee together. In the "Independent Period", the post of *Subba* was recognized and his power was a paron-type almost in the absolute sense. In the post-unification period, in addition to the traditional *Subba*, two other roles of leadership, *Subbas* and *Pagaris* were officially recognized and the concept of authority ran in two directions performing different roles and functions. The absolute power of the traditional *Subba* was lessened by these two new roles of leadership. Today in the Panchayat system, the *Subba* and *Pagari* in the village judiciary who have control over labour and resources no longer function directly. An elective process demands wealth as well as supporters. However, the new leadership was also subsumed by the same old people because of their wealth and position within the community.

In the traditional set-up, a close relationship existed between the political status and rights over land. However, over the years, beginning with the central government's introduction of new land policies, which slowly changed the *Kipat* land into *raikar*, there has been increasing state control, by the inclusion such as those evidenced by, *Subba* and *Pagari* in the Athpahariyas' territory. In 1968, the central government was successful in abolishing the *kipat* land rights. However, the Athpahariyas were able to hold onto the power structure amidst the sifting land policies and the changing political system. In the Athpahariya context, this has become possible because: (i) the area is still overwhelmingly inhabited by the Athpahariyas who retain considerable control over the traditional resource base i.e. land; (ii) kin structure is still the binding force of the country; and (iii) there is no collapse of the traditional leadership role of the Chilinge *Subba* who still holds the group together in socio-religious activities.

There is also a feeling that external threats to the traditional role of leadership among the Athpahariyas are emerging slowly. Some new leaders from other ethnic groups have already entered the panchayat system in the Athpahariya area and this has caused factions among the Athpahariyas themselves. The strategic alliance of a section of Athpahariyas with the Newars mentioned earlier, is a case in point. This is not to say that hostility is absent within the kinship network today. More conflicts are bound to occur within the group because of the process of ethnic interaction, and more so if the existing resources dwindle further. New inputs have come in from various

sources within the community. Furthermore, the extension of a motorable road over the years has widened the outlook of the Athpahariyas. In such circumstances, it is quite possible that the traditional and hereditary pattern of leadership among the Athpahariyas may drastically change in the near future.

NOTES

1. The fieldwork on the Athpahariya Rais on which this article is based, by the author was conducted from April 1974 to November 1974. The area was revisited in 1984. The article is the outcome of a larger research project on the Athpahariya Rais conducted under a grant from the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University. I am grateful to Dr. Chaitanya Mishra for his helpful comments on this paper.
2. It is estimated that the total population of the Athpahariya Rais was around 2500 in 1965. This estimation was based on the number of total Kipat households registered in the Treasury Office (Mal), Dhankuta.

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जयप्रकाशमल्लल रणजित्मल्ललाई लेखिदिएको भाकापत्र

- धनवज्र वज्राचार्य

कान्तिपुरका अन्तिम मल्ल राजा जयप्रकाश अलि भिन्नै प्रकृतिका व्यक्ति थिए । एक विजिगीषु राजामा हुनुपर्ने निकै गुण उनमा थिए तापनि एक राजनीतिज्ञमा हुनुपर्ने मुख्य गुण दूरदर्शिताको भने उनमा कमी थियो । उनको लक्ष्य र योजना नै त्यति स्पष्ट थिएन । तत्कालको परिस्थितिबाट प्रभावित भई उनी कदम उठाउँथे । उता गोरखाका राजा पृथ्वीनारायण शाह पूर्वतिर वढ्न योजनाबद्ध तरिकाले उद्योग गर्दै थिए ।

आधुनिककालको राजनैतिक इतिहासको दृष्टिले यो संक्रमणकाल अत्यन्त विचारणीय रहेको छ । यस ताकाका घटनालाई वंशावलीको मात्र भर नपरी तात्कालिक स्रोतको आधारमा विश्लेषण गरी अध्ययन गर्नु वाञ्छनीय छ ।

केही काल यता यस ताकाका केही प्रामाणिक स्रोतहरू प्रकाशमा आएका छन् । यसबाट विश्लेषण गर्न केही आधार मिलेको छ । हालै एक अर्को सन्धिपत्र पाइएको छ^१ । ने. सं. ८७८ (वि. सं. १८१५) मा जयप्रकाशमल्लले भक्तपुरका अन्तिम मल्ल राजा रणजित्लाई लेखिदिएको भाकापत्र सो हो । अप्रकाशित सो सन्धिपत्र तात्कालिक राजनैतिक अवस्थाको विश्लेषण गर्न उपयोगी हुँदा पाठकको सामु राख्दैछु ।

मूल पाठ

१. स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीमत्पशुपतीत्यादि ॥ श्रीश्रीजयजयप्रकाश
२. मल्लदेवसन, श्रीश्रीजयरणजित्मल्लदेवस्त भारवाप-
३. त्र चोस्यं दुंता, भारवा ध्वते, जल, देशन, पूर्व खण्व मिल्दो
४. लुँभु आदिन गाम दको, थुम दको, खण्वस्त, उपरान्त
५. जल देशन पश्चिम, कीर्तिपुर आदिन, गाम दक्क, थु
६. मं दको ज मिल्दो, जयात, उपरान्त, जल गलयं
७. जुव कुहनु, निहस्रस्या मतन, गुगुल माल, उगुल या
८. य, थुगुल वाचास, जि मचोनसा, श्रीशितलेजु माजु, श्रीकौमारी माजु
श्रीगुहयेश्वरी माजु
९. ध्वते देवताया कुदृष्टि, थुगुलि वाचास चोनसा, ध्वते
१०. देवताया सुदृष्टि, ध्व पत्रया साक्षी, चंद्र सूर्य पओ
११. न, पानि, धरत्रि, आकाश, अग्नि॥ सं ८७८ आश्वि सु १४
(छेउमा-)
१२. शुभं ॥

अनुवाद

कल्याण होस । श्रीपशुपति इत्यादि । श्रीश्रीजयजयप्रकाशमल्लदेवले श्रीश्रीजयरणजित्मल्लदेवलाई लेखिएको भाकापत्रको बेहोरा यस प्रकारको छ --

ललितपुर देशको पूर्वपट्टिका, भक्तपुरलाई पाइक पर्ने लुम्बु आदि सबै ग्राम, सबै थुम भक्तपुरलाई ।

उप्रान्त ललितपुर देशको पश्चिमपट्टिका, कान्तिपुरलाई पाइक पर्ने कीर्तिपुर आदि सबै ग्राम, सबै थुम कान्तिपुरलाई ।

उप्रान्त ललितपुर गलेको दिन दुवै (भक्तपुर, कान्तिपुर) को सर-सल्लाह अनुसार जे गर्नुपर्ने ठहर्छ; त्यही गर्ने ।

यस वचनमा म रहिन भने श्री ३ तलेजु माई, श्रीकौमारी माई, श्रीगुहेश्वरी माई, यी देवताको कृदृष्टि परोस ; यस वचनमा रहने भने यी देवताको सुदृष्टि परोस ।

यस पत्रका साक्षी - चन्द्र सूर्य वायु जल पृथ्वी आकाश अग्नि ।

ने.सं. ८७८ (वि. सं. १८१५) आखिन शुक्ल चतुर्दशी । शुभ होस ।

ललितपुरको विरूद्ध कान्तिपुर र भक्तपुरको बीच भएको यो सन्धि भवादृ हेर्दा अनीलो लाग्छ । यस सन्धिपत्रमा ललितपुर राज्य अन्तर्गतका लुम्बु, कीर्तिपुर आदि ग्राम, थुमहरू भक्तपुर र कान्तिपुरले परस्परमा बाँडिएको कुरा परेको छ । यसरी लुम्बु, कीर्तिपुर आदि यी प्रदेश कान्तिपुर र भक्तपुरले दखल गरिसकेको भान यताबाट पर्छ । परन्तु सत्य कुरा त्यो होइन । उक्त प्रदेश कान्तिपुर र भक्तपुरले दखल गरिसकेका थिएनन् । ललितपुरलाई चेताउनी दिन मात्र त्यसो गरेका हुन् । ललितपुरलाई गाल्न यो कदम उठाइएको हो भन्ने कुरा यस भाकापत्रको तल्लो भागबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

यस ताका यस्तो चलन नै चलेको थियो । भविष्यमा जित्ने मनसुवा राखिएको तर जितिनसकिएको प्रदेश पनि विधिवत् आफ्ना मान्छेलाई प्रदान गरिन्थ्यो । यस कुरामा धेरै उदाहरण पाइन्छन् । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले कान्तिपुर वि. सं. १८२५ मा मात्र विजय गरेका हुन् । यसभन्दा पहिले नै यहाँका जग्गा जमीन थामिदिने काम उनले गरेका थिए । वि. सं. १८२२ मा सादुल्लाजी, मोजमजीलाई गरिदिएका लालमोहरमा "तुम्रा नेपालको घर घेत जति छन्, सब हामिले माफ गरिबक्स्यौं" भनी लेखिएको छ^३ ।

भक्तपुर वि. सं. १८२६ मा मात्र पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले जितेका थिए । तर यसभन्दा अघि नै भक्तपुर अन्तर्गतका जग्गा जमीन उनले थामिदिएथे । भगवतीवनहरूलाई लेखिदिएको वि. सं. १८२३ को लालमोहरमा "भादगाँउँको साधुमूल नागोसि तारको रोपनी १२ षेत डिहिसमेत गोकर्णको षेत मुरि ८०० डिहिसमेत भादगाँउँ सहरको रोपनि ४० षेत मठसमेत माफ गरिबक्स्यौं" भनी स्पष्टसँग उक्त कुरा लेखिएको छ^३ । तल प्रसङ्गबश उल्लिखित सन्धिपत्र आदिबाट पनि उक्त चलन प्रचलित रहेको थाहा पाइन्छ ।

राज्यच्युत भई चार वर्षसम्म यताउति लागी फेरि सत्तामा आउन सफल भएपछि जयप्रकाशमल्ल पहिलेभन्दा बढी सावधान र उद्योगशील बनेथे । तर योजनाबद्ध रूपमा काम भने उनीबाट हुन सकेन ।

यसताका गोरखा अगाडि बढ्ने प्रयास गर्दै थियो । दहचोक कब्जा गरेपछि नै पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको दृष्टि कीर्तिपुरमा पर्न थालेथ्यो । किनभने त्यसवेला दहचोक कीर्तिपुरको शिर कहलाएथ्यो^४ । पश्चिमतिरको अवस्था मजबूत पार्नु; भोटसँग सम्बन्ध स्थापित गर्नु ; आर्थिक स्थिति मजबूत पार्न आदि कार्यमा लाग्नुपरेको हुनाले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले कीर्तिपुरमा आक्रमण गर्ने अवसर पाएका थिएनन् । वि.सं. १८१४ को ज्येष्ठमा मात्र पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले कीर्तिपुरमा आक्रमण गरे^५ ।

कीर्तिपुर ललितपुरराज्य अन्तर्गत पर्दथ्यो । यस कारण कीर्तिपुरमा गोरखाले आक्रमण गर्दा साधारणतः कान्तिपुर ताल्नुपर्ने अवस्था थिएन । तर गोरखाले कीर्तिपुर दख्खल गर्यो भने ललितपुरलाई मात्र होइन; कान्तिपुर, भक्तपुरलाई पनि खतरा छ भन्ने महसूस जयप्रकाशमल्लहरूले गरेथे । यस कुराको संकेत वंशावलीमा उल्लिखित "कीर्तिपुर भन्याको नेपालको मुटु हो; त्यो गोरखाले लियो भन्या त तीनै राजाको राज्य गयो; यसलाई अघि हामीहरूले दहचोकमा उक्लन नदिन्या हो; उस बेला हामीले खुक्यौं; आज फेरि कीर्तिपुर लियो भन्या ता हामीहरू सबैलाई मार्यो; तसर्थ हामी तीनै राजा भई कीर्तिपुरको गुहार गरी थान्नु योग्य छ भनी तीनै राजाले मतो बाँधी कीर्तिपुरको मदतलाई गया"^६ भन्ने यस वर्णनबाट पनि पाइन्छ ।

कीर्तिपुरको यस पहिलो लडाईँमा गोरखालीहरूको नराम्रोसँग हार भयो । यसरी गोरखालीहरूलाई हराउनामा जयप्रकाशमल्लको ठूलो हात थियो । यो कुरा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले राम्ररी बुझे । अनि जयप्रकाशमल्ललाई फुटाई आफ्नो पदामा मिलाउने चेष्टा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले गर्न थाले । त्यसको फलस्वरूप वि. सं. १८१४ पौषमा जयप्रकाशमल्ल र पृथ्वीनारायण शाह बीच एक सन्धि भयो^७ । जयप्रकाशमल्लले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहलाई लेखिदिएको "धर्मपत्र" रूपको सो सन्धि-पत्रको सारांश यस प्रकारको छ-

- (१) काठमाडौं र गोरखामा एउटै चास्नीका शुद्ध चाँदीका टक मार्ने,
- (२) भोटमा रुपिया र मालताल पठाउँदा दुबै राज्यले बराबर पठाउने.....,
- (३) भोटसँग व्यापार गर्दा नुवाकोटको बाटोबाट गर्ने ,
- (४) काठमाडौं र गोरखामा परस्परमा दूत राख्ने , परस्परमा व्यापार चलाउने ,
- (५) मधेस (भारत) बाट प्राप्त हुने सिक्का बराबर बाँडलिने ,
- (६) पाटन गोरखाले खाने, गोरखाले पाटन देखल गरे कान्तिपुरले त्यसमा स्वीकृति दिने.....,
- (७) गोरखाले नालदूम काठमाडौंलाई सुम्पिदिने

सात महीना जति पहिले कीर्तिपुर लडाइँमा गोरखालाई साभ्रा शत्रु सभै तीत्यताबाट हटाउन भरमग्दूर कोशिश गर्ने जयप्रकाशमल्लले अहिले यसरी 'पाटन गोरखाले खानू' भनी सन्धि गर्नु भवाट्ट हेर्दा बुझिने कुरा होइन ; राजनैतिक दृष्टिले यो कुनै हालतमा पनि दूरदर्शी कदम थिएन । तर नुवाकोटदेखि नालदूमभेकसम्मका व्यापारको दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण आफ्ना धेरैजसो प्रदेश गुमेका हुनाले जयप्रकाशमल्ललाई ठूलो हानि भइरहेको थियो । यस कारण नालदूम फिर्ता पाइने , भोट र गोरखा आदिसँग व्यापार चल्ने आदि ठूलो प्रलोभनले गर्दा जयप्रकाशमल्ल यतातिर झुकेका हुन् । यो सन्धि लागू भएको भए जयप्रकाश मल्ललाई केही लाभ हुने थियो । तर उनलाई छुट्याउने यो सन्धि गरिएको हुँदा यो सन्धि लागू नै भएन । निश्चित योजना मिलाईकन मात्र पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले यो सन्धि गरेथे । नालदूमभेकका दामोदर पण्डितलाई लेखिएको पत्रमा "जयप्रकाशले घा गरी पठाया छन् तपनी नालदूम छोडन्या होइन लोलोपोतो नगरया पनि काज बन्दैन" भनी पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले लेखेका हुनाले यसबाट उनको योजनाको संकेत हामी पाउँछौं ।

जयप्रकाश मल्ललाई यसरी फसाएपछि रणजित, मल्ललाई हात लिन पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले अर्को प्रयास गरे । उनको सो दाउ थाहा पाएपछि रणजित, मल्ललाई पृथ्वीनारायण शाहसँग मिल्न नदिन जयप्रकाशमल्लले यो "भाकापत्र" लेखिदिएका हुन् ।

ललितपुरका महत्त्वपूर्ण इलाका बाँडचुँड गरिलिने, ललितपुरलाई गाल्ने लक्ष्य पनि यस सन्धिपत्रमा रहेको थियो । यसताका आन्तरिक गडबडीले गर्दा ललितपुर केही कमजोर रहेको थियो । यस कारण राजनैतिक दाउँपेचको तारो ललितपुरलाई पारिएको हो । भाइ राज्यप्रकाशमल्ल कान्तिपुरबाट ललितपुरमा शरण पर्न गएको र पछि ललितपुरको गद्दीमै उनी राखिएका हुँदा पहिले त जयप्रकाशमल्ल क्रुद्ध भएथे । तर पछि उनले संयमले काम लिए ।

वि. सं. १८१३ मा कालु पाँडेलाई लेखेको पत्रमा जयप्रकाशमल्लले "पाटन भित्र कटक गर्नु छैन, भादगाउँ भित्र कटक गर" भनी पाटन प्रति सहानुभूति दर्शाएथे^{१०} । परन्तु पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले देखाएको ठूलै प्रलोभनले गर्दा जयप्रकाशमल्लको नीति बदलियो । तर पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको लोलोपोतोको सुईको पाएपछि जयप्रकाशमल्लले फेरि अर्कै बाटो लिएका हुन् ।

यहाँनिर एउटा अर्को कुरामा पनि दृष्टि पुऱ्याउनु आवश्यक छ । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहसँग सन्धि गरेको वेलासम्म ललितपुरमा राज्यप्रकाशमल्ल राजा थिए । नि. सं. ८७८ (वि. सं. १८१५) आश्विन शुक्ल अष्टमीको दिन राज्यप्रकाश मल्लको मृत्यु भयो । अनि पाटने काजीहरूले विश्वजित्मल्ललाई पाटनको गद्दीमा राखे^{११} । त्यसको एक हप्ता पनि नबित्दै जयप्रकाशमल्ल पाटनको विरुद्ध रणजित्मल्लसँग सन्धि गर्न पुगेका हुन् । पाटनलाई गाल्ने दुवै मल्ल राजाको लक्ष्य रहेको थियो । यसबाट राज्यप्रकाशमल्ल पछि पाटनको गद्दीमा बस्ने दावा जयप्रकाशमल्लहरूको पनि रहेको थियो भने संकेत पाइन्छ । पाटने शक्तिशाली काजीहरूले सो दावा नमानेका हुनाले पनि पाटनको विरुद्ध यो कदम उठाइएको देखिन्छ । यसको लगत्तै पछि भने जस्तै विश्वजित्मल्ल मारिँदा जयप्रकाशमल्ल र पछि रणजित्मल्ल पाटनको गद्दीमा राखिएको कुरा यस प्रसङ्गमा स्मरणीय छ ^{१३}।

जे होस्, छिनछिनमा काँचुली फेर्दै गर्ने यस वेलाको राजनैतिक अवस्थाले निश्चित दिशा लिन सकेको थिएन भन्ने हामी थाहा पाउँछौं ।

टिप्पणी -

१. भक्तपुरनिवासी शरद, राजोपाध्यायसँग यस सन्धिपत्रको सक्कल प्रति रहेको छ । डा. तुलसीराम वैद्यमार्फत यसको प्रतिलिपि उतार्ने अवसर पाइएको हो । यसका लागि उहाँहरू दुवैलाई हार्दिक धन्यवाद छ ।
२. नयराज पन्त र अरू, वि. सं. २०२५, "श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश" जगदम्बाप्रकाशन, ललितपुर, पृ. १०५७
३. नयराज पन्त र अरू "श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश" पृ. ११२८
४. उही, पृ. ८१२
५. उही, पृ. ८१४-८१७
६. उही, पृ. ८१४

Book Review

A Basic Course in Colloquial Newari. 1984. Tej R. Kansakar. 150 pages. Kathmandu: Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University.

Though the cover gives the date of publication as 1984, and the title page gives it as 1983, this long-awaited volume became available in what the author views as a preliminary edition only in 1987. In spite of what the manuscript suffered through the vagaries of the errant mimeograph machine, this preliminary edition turns out to have been well worth waiting for.

In putting together a language learning course one wishes on the one hand to treat the various language skills (pronunciation, word formation, sentence construction, style and usage, and the like) in some orderly fashion and on the other hand one wishes to grade the materials in such a way that the student has opportunity to acquire acceptable habits of expression and adequate levels of comprehension through a massive exposure to material that is consistently easy for the learner, given his current level of competence. One needs, in effect, both a reference grammar and an extensive graded corpus, each keyed to the other.

K.P. Malla (1985) provides a reference grammar which summarizes in an admirably well-organized manner the descriptive work done on Newari up to about 1983, the date of the most recent entries in his bibliography. Kansakar's work supplements this quite effectively by putting pedagogical legs on his own original research in phonology (a milestone Ph.D. dissertation on Newari phonology to which he seems to have omitted all reference) and by making other recent work in morphology and syntax palatable within the framework of a language learning course.

By devoting the first third of the book to phonology, Kansakar exposes the student to a considerable body of material. If the student were expected to assimilate all the vocabulary he were being exposed to at this stage it would certainly be very difficult, especially for those from the West who are not adept at rote learning. The purpose, of course, is not vocabulary enrichment, but is that of enabling the student to build a good *emic* sense of discrimination within the Newari sound system and good phonetic habits of production, acceptable to native speakers. Viewed this way the material is consistently easy and thus well graded. The student is not expected at this stage to be able to use the lexical items in correctly constructed phrases and sentences, but having encountered these lexical items first

as phonological examples, they will inevitably be more familiar when he or she encounters them again as lexical items to be learned for use in conversation. Kansakar has thus achieved a fair measure of grading without compromising the clarity of his outline.

The influence of Hari (1971) and of Shresthacharya, Maskey, and Hale (1971) upon the conversationally-oriented grammatical units of the remaining two-thirds of the book is unmistakable, though here again Kansakar maintains a clearer outline than either of the earlier works and in general has given fuller treatment of the topics that are covered.

The work concludes with two appendices, one dealing with sentence types, adapted from Hashimoto (1977) and the other with idioms drawn from Joshi (N.S. 1078).

Unlike some language learning courses that reflect only the fond hopes of the authors, this one has benefitted from use in conjunction with actual course work. Though the author views this as a preliminary edition [and its present mimeographed state does scant justice to its contents], it is to be highly commended to academically oriented would-be speakers of Newari as an excellent starting point in learning colloquial Kathmandu Newari.

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- Austin Hale